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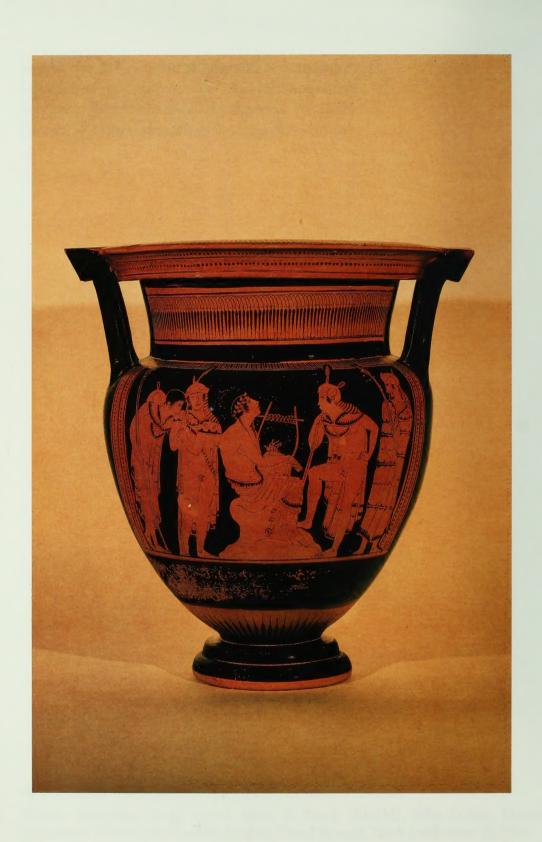
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edenda curavit TILMAN SEEBASS adiuvante Tilden Russell



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Titelvignette nach dem Holzschnitt *Fraw Musica* von Lukas Cranach d. J. für Verlagswerke des Georg Rhau in Wittenberg, ca. 1544–1556. Auch die Schlußvignette entstammt Rhaus Offizin.

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Frontispiece: Orpheus enchants the Thracians. Berlin, Antikenmuseum, 3172. – Photo: Ingrid Geske-Heiden, Museum. The plate was printed with a grant from the Duke University Research Council

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Bibliographic abbreviations

- Add² Beazley, J. D. Beazley addenda: additional references to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena. 2nd. ed. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- ARV² Beazley, J. D. Attic red-figure vase painters. 2nd ed. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1963.
- CVA Corpus vasorum antiquorum.
- LAW Lexikon der Alten Welt. Zürich & Stuttgart: Artemis, 1965.
- LIMC Lexikon iconographicum mythologiae classicae. Zürich & München: Artemis, 1981-.
- Para Beazley, J. D. Paralipomena: additions to Attic red-figure vase painters ... Oxford: Clarendon, 1971.



The power of music in Greek vase painting: reflections on the visualization of *rhythmos* (order) and *epaoidē* (enchanting song)*

Tilman Seebass

1. Introduction

The substance and power of music: a musicological topic?

There is probably no culture which is not aware of the power which music exerts over mankind. Ethnographic evidence for this abounds; oral and written myths, and pictorial evidence testify to it. In the history of Occidental cultures the credit goes to the ancient Greeks for having lifted this theme from the realm of myths into that of philosophy. The earliest pedagogical and theoretical discussion about the power of music took place in the decades between Periclean rule and the early Hellenistic period when Damon, Plato, and Aristotle were active as teachers and theoreticians. Even much later, in late Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance, many musicological treatises still mention, at least in the introduction, the effects that music has on audiences. But by the 17th century the *topos* has faded, and since then it has remained much outside of musicological scope.

With the increased awareness among today's musicologists that our understanding of music is incomplete if we do not consider it as an "intended and living process", the question of what the effects of music are has become an issue again. If, then, I am here taking up the subject, I feel particularly encouraged to do so thanks to the efforts of Leonard B. Meyer and John Blacking, who in their writings have tried to address questions of a psychological and behavioral nature in music, the former approaching it as an expert of modern European music history and psychology, the latter as an anthropologist and generalist.

The avenue taken in this article, however, is methodologically a different one. I intend to use works from the visual arts and study their message with respect to the *topos*. In other words the point of departure is not the analysis of the musical event itself — which cannot be sufficiently reconstructed if it comes from a time so remote — but a study of how the perception of music has been visualized. The choice of sources from Greek antiquity for this is a natural one: for the first time in Occidental history we are provided with a combination of visual sources together with poetic and theoretical ones. It would be unwise not to take advantage of this.

Two thematic groups of Greek vase paintings seem to me particularly suitable to explore our theme. The first consists of vases from the second half of the 8th century visualizing $\dot{\varrho}\upsilon\theta\mu\dot{\varrho}\varsigma$; the second consists of vases mostly from the mid-5th century and a little later showing the power which Orpheus exerts over his listeners. In the first group we find the power of music

^{*} This article was first written in 1991 as a paper for the 3rd International Meeting of the ICTM Study Group for Musical Iconography in Thessalonica on "The Spirit of Greek Music in the Visual Arts of Antiquity". It was subsequently presented at the 5th Seminar in Iconography in Urbino organized by the Società Italiana del Flauto Dolce. I am grateful for the feedback which I received from colleagues and students on both occasions as well as for the help of Dr. Karin Braun, Saarbrücken.

represented as an immanent substance; in the second we see it represented as an emotional experience. The spellbinding quality of music is a central theme in both; but their chronological distance happens to result also in an aesthetic distance. The examples from the 8th century epitomize in the history of ancient Greek aesthetics what one could call the "implicit mode" of representation; the examples from the 5th century reveal how the mode has become explicit.

2. $Pv\theta\mu\delta\varsigma$ (Rhythmos)

... to bind the current of the sacred Hellespont, like a slave in chains, the Bosporus a stream divine; and set himself to fashion [μετερούθμιζε] a roadway ... (Aeschylus, Persians, 745–7)

Rhythmos and rhythm

Rhythmos is a key word for the understanding of Greek concepts of form and Gestalt. It appears for the first time in a fragment by Archilochus in the 7th century, but must have existed long before; and it must have permeated many areas of life in general and in particular the three forms of artistic expression: structure in materia — architecture, painting, sculpture, or minor arts; sound in language or music; and movement in gesture or dance. The use of the term by Archilochus and in its verbal form — ὁυθμίζειν by Aeschylus (*Prometheus Bound*, *Persians*) suggests that *rhythmos* is "that which imposes bonds on movement and confines the flux of things".² In the realm of the visual arts rhythmos is most strongly evident in architecture and the abstract forms of pure decoration where serialized impulses, zig-zags, and the meander pattern freely unfold. Indeed the most obvious visualization of the concept is the meander ornament with its strong directional force overcoming conflicting movements. It received its name from the iterative, winding pattern formed by the river Meander in Asia Minor.³ But in figurative arts too rhythmos is a factor. We only have to remember the patterned representations of ritual processions, dances, the phalanx of hoplites, or rows of horses where order is achieved by organizing the pictorial motifs through serialization and iterative principles. The methodological problem scholars are facing, however, is that it is difficult to find a more than merely approximative interpretative position. There is not enough known about Greek musical reality to assess where rendering of natural experience ends and aesthetic concepts in artistic visualization begin. In other words, we do not know whether ritual processions were in reality as rigidly organized or whether they became patterned through artistic vision. Unfortunately, so far, rhythmos in its special meaning of musical rhythm, as we understand it today, is not

¹ The following is a continuation of ideas formulated for the first time in my recent article on iconography and dance research (1991: 45f.).

² Jaeger 1945: 126 with footnotes 49 and 50. Archilochus, fragment 67a.7: "γίγνωσκε δ' οἶος ὁυθμὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔχει" (he recognizes which rhythmos holds mankind). Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound, 242f.: "ἀλλὰ νηλεῶς ὧδ' ἐρρύθμισμαι" (but I am thus mercilessly disciplined) and Persians, 745-7: "ὅστις Ἑλλήσποντον ἱρὸν δοῦλον ὡς δεσμώμασιν ἤλπισε σχήσειν ὁέοντα, Βόσπορον ὁόον θεοῦ· καὶ πόρον μετερρύθμιζε" — see citation above at beginning of chapter. As the etymological source Jaeger therefore suggests the verb ἐρύεσθαι, to draw for oneself, to protect, to curb. See also Seidel 1976: 15.

³ For Μαίανδρος, in its meaning as ornament, and the adjectives μαιάνδριος and μαιανδρώδης, Liddell gives as earliest source Philo, 3rd–2nd century B.C. (1968: 1072). According to Himmelmann (1968: 269) coins of the late fourth century B.C. provide the earliest evidence; his basic study on the meander ornament was written in 1962. Although he recognizes the strong rhythmic and temporal component of the meander he does not connect it with rhythm or *rhythmos*.

confirmed before the end of the fifth century (Barker 1984: 225, n. 131). Nevertheless I believe it is merely a matter of degree how closely we relate reality and concept. I still would advocate that the rhythmical patternization is so much at the core of temporal structures that *rhythmos* in the musical sense must have existed *avant la lettre*. The force of *rhythmos* apparent in two-dimensional or spatial structures is also the principle that drives the pulsatory patterns of music. Or, if we invert the viewpoint, a specifically musical sense of *rhythmos* must have been part of an overall aesthetical experience from which the vase painter drew his inspiration.

Three well-known Greek vases, two of the geometric, one of the Protoattic period, may illustrate our thesis.

The huge funeral amphora from the Dipylon cemetery, Athens 804 (fig. 1),4 is considered the lead exemplar of the Dipylon style around 750. I can find no better way of describing the meander bands and the design as a whole than by calling them $\dot{\epsilon}\rho\rho\nu\theta\mu\nu\sigma\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu\sigma\iota$, flow molded in order and form. A strong rhythm is created by the horizontal back-and-forth pulse of the meander pattern of different types and sizes, and by the vertical succession of bands of varying width and density. As to the two figurative details, the row of grazing deer in the upper part of the neck and the funeral homage by mourners at the height of the handles on the belly, older traditional scholarship considered them as animated "extensions" of decorative patterns. Since Himmelmann's study (1968), however, we have learned that we do them more justice if we consider them as primordially figurative elements handed down from Minoan and Mycenaean times and brought into a new decorative, rhythmic context. Whereas in the instance of the deer, the rhythmic principle prevails over nature — grazing deer do not line up this way in real life! — the representation of the obsequies undoubtedly reflects the order and rhythmic movement of coordinated walking, gesturing, dancing; in other words, it is thematical as well. Here ornamental rhythmos and real rhythmos (including musical rhythm) converge and reinforce each other, a phenomenon which Himmelmann, too, observed in his material (1968: 266):

Jedenfalls findet sich [...] das Ornament auch immer wieder in Zusammenhängen, in denen es nicht nur volle Gegenständlichkeit annimmt, sondern geradezu Gegenständlichkeit noch potenziert, indem es die wesentlichen Charakteristika der Dinglichkeit oder der Lebendigkeit herausstellt.

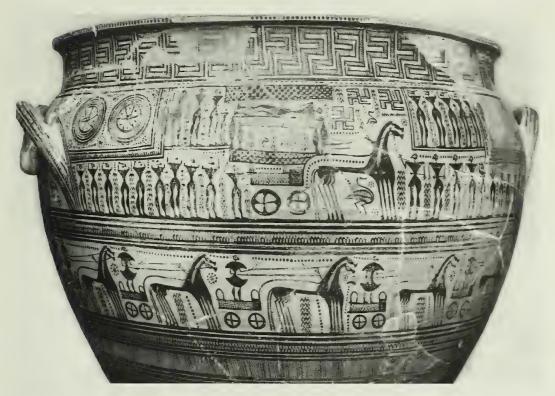
The figurative details suggest that the viewer recognize and feel the rhythm in its function as an organizer of both temporal and three-dimensional, and of two-dimensional structures. It seems to me that the intense sense of order for abstract as well as figurative elements makes it more than hypothetical that the concept of *rhythmos* must have existed in two concrete forms, as a principle of order for the rites as a whole and as an organizational force immanent in dance and music. Hence, we can add *rhythmos* to Himmelmann's examples for the significance of geometric decoration beyond the abstract. The vase mirrors the *rhythmos* of the rites, and the *rhythmos* of the rites finds its externalization in the painted vase placed in the tomb.

We do not know how strong and regular in ancient Greek reality the rhythmic order and pulse of music was, how much it was challenged by syncopations, and how strictly processions and dances were coordinated. Be this as it may, it is at least certain that compared with the artists of the preceding and succeeding periods the painters of the geometric period emphasize strictness, seem to be almost obsessed with it. The ornament with the greatest potential energy as a sponsor of rhythm, the meander, hardly occurs in earlier art (Himmelmann 1962: 13). One

⁴ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 804. Belly-handled amphora in late geometric style, from the Dipylon cemetery, ca. 750: ornamental bands and scene of funeral rite. Matz 1950: 43–8; Davison 1961: 133 and *passim*; Wegner 1961: 56f.; Himmelmann 1962: 28 and plates 5–7; Coldstream 1968: 29f.



1. Amphora in geometric style: funeral rites. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 804. – Photo: Seminar für klassische Archäologie, Saarbrücken



2. Krater in geometric style: funeral rites and games. Athens. National Archaeological Museum, 990. – Photo: Seminar für klassische Archäologie, Saarbrücken

would like to hope that art historians will tackle the long overdue study of *rhythmos* in Greek art.⁵ Were such a task undertaken, it would tell us something about the manifestation of the Greek psyche and thus indirectly something about musical perception in ancient Greece as well.

Variety and action

For a thorough description of geometric vase painting the principle of *rhythmos*, and in particular patternization, would not suffice. It is coupled with a stupendous sense of the possibilities of modulation, variation, and variety. In our first example variety appears through the changing widths and patterns of the decorative bands and through thematic variety in the band depicting the funeral rites. In a slightly later example, Athens 990 (*fig. 2*),6 it challenges the strictness of regular patterns in the two wide figurative bands to the point where an overall

- 5 The lack is perhaps understandable because art historians have so often made improper use of "rhythm" when describing paintings. Nevertheless I hope that it is only my incomplete knowledge of the secondary literature in Greek art that explains my finding but one example of a tentative approach to the problem: Wegner in describing a late-geometric vase writes (1969: 174): "Man kann von einer rhythmischen Gliederung sprechen, womit denn der Begriff Rhythmos fällt, der in der griechischen Kunstbetrachtung neben Harmonie als Ausweis eines gelungenen Kunstwerks gilt."
- 6 Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 990. Funeral krater in late geometric style by the Hirschfeld paintner, from the Dipylon cemetery, after 750: ornamental and figurative bands (funeral rites and games). Davison 1961: 141 and *passim*; Wegner 1961: 57f.; Coldstream 1968: 41.



3. Hydria, early proto-Attic style: friezes with round dance, plants, and animals. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 313. – Photo: Museum

order is almost dissolved. The upper one has changed into a wild play of decorative and figurative elements which seem to resist confinement between the bands above and below. Of course the iterative principle still prevails over the narrative (although perhaps not much), and so does the decorative over the figurative.⁷

The early Protoattic example, Athens 313 (figs. 3-4),8 reflects a new principle of design. The relationship between order and variety is more in balance. Rhythmos and variety are simultaneously pervasive. The iterative pulse changes from band to band. Sometimes rhythm is realized by a regular, very dense pulse, sometimes it is more spacious, looser, and filled with syncopation. There is a vertical alternation between decorative and figurative bands; the eye tends to focus on the central wide band with the lions and large plants (the latter not visible in fig. 3). But the idea of letting the visual activity vertically converge on the central band of the vase is also used horizontally by arranging pictorial elements accordingly within bands. In the central band axial symmetries are dominant; but we see it also in the upper band, where rows of male and female dancers move toward the lyra player in the center (fig. 4). The idea of normative pulse and challenging deviation, fundamental to any musical or visual rhythm, is intensely realized in the band with the music scene. Except for the central motif, the lyra player, everything is subject to patternization. No blank space is allowed; even seemingly insignificant blank spots between figures are drawn into this and subjected to Gestaltung. Each of the three friezes fills the blank spaces in particular ways. In the bottom frieze, lozenges are used which adapt to the bent legs of the animals as rhythmical reminders; the central frieze

Wegner (1961: 58) sees it rather the other way around, linking the concrete figurative content to narrative, epic poetry: "hardly ever in the history of the world did pictures and poetry stand so close to one another as then, not only in content but, above all, in spirit."

⁸ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 313. Early Protoattic hydria from Analatos, *ca.* 700: Ornamental and figurative bands representing round dance, plants, and animals. Böhlau 1887; Matz 1950: 289–91; Davison 1961: 149 and *passim*; Wegner 1961: 66f., and 1963: 26; Seebass 1991: 46.



4. Same as 3. Detail: dancers and lyra player. – Photo after Böhlau 1887: pl. III

with its larger designs uses on one side homiothematic fan- and leaf-like devices for the large plants, but on the other a variety of elements for the spaces around the lions. The decorative fillers in the music frieze are again restricted almost exclusively to one kind, the single, double and triple zig-zags. This differentiation between the various secondary decorative elements suggests conscious design, and we dare to associate the iterative, rippling decoration in the music frieze with the idea of air filled with rippling, rhythmic sound — even though it occurs on other vases without the musical context.

Surveying the primary and secondary elements in this vase and their interplay, we conclude that the overlap between *rhythmos* as the overall formative principle and *rhythmos* as music-iconographical theme is so great that they almost seem to be one and the same. I am inclined to consider the vase as visual evidence of the existence of *rhythmos* in its general and specific musical meaning, predating the earliest textual source by about two generations.

3. 'Επαοιδή (Epaoidē)

Father, if I had the voice of Orpheus, to persuade by the magic of my singing [ἐπάδουσα], so that the rocks would follow me and I could charm with my words whomever I wished, then that is what I would do. But shedding tears is the only skill I have, and I will shed them. (Euripides, Iph. Au., 1211–5, cited after Barker 1984: 90)

The Orpheus picture by the Orpheus painter

Whereas the previous examples invite the discussion of structural questions in the realm of primarily decorative painting and suggest a primordial analogy of spatial and temporal organization, the following ones created 250 years later reflect a shift in what painters are concerned about when they visualize music. Now the emphasis is on the visualization of the emotional power of music. This point is most vividly made in the scene of Orpheus enchanting



5. Berlin, Antikenmuseum, 3172, front side. – Photo after Furtwängler 1890: pl. II

the Thracians, painted by the Orpheus painter on the column krater in Berlin (ca. 440, fig. 5 and frontispiece). In fact, because of its intensity and design the vase stands in a category of its own and we shall therefore make it the center of this second part of the article.

I have long pondered how this unique work came about and why we do not find more scenes of this kind in Greek art. The hypothesis that the painting may reflect the uniqueness of Periclean Athens is probably not farfetched and deserves the effort of substantiating and specific arguments. We begin by first providing a sketchy background of vase painting in the 6th and 5th centuries. Subsequently we shall discuss Orpheus scenes in general and the music scene in particular. Finally we shall focus on the decades in which the vase was painted and contrast it with related examples.

Background

When in the 6th century mythical stories are gradually introduced as subject matter into black-figure vase painting, action and ritualized situations remain a dominant force in the design. In fact, as Erika Simon observed, the dramatic element increases with time — to the degree that toward the mid-5th century mythical scenes are depicted mostly in the form in which they are represented in contemporary drama (Simon 1976: 13). Among those dramatized topics, combat and *agon* with musical accompaniment, the activities of Apollo and the Muses, or of Dionysus and the Sileni and Maenads, pertain to music. Compared with the abundance of such scenes in black-figure and red-figure vase painting of the late 6th and 5th centuries, there is a striking scarcity of pictures celebrating the power of music, although painters were doubtlessly familiar with stories such as those of Odysseus and the Sirens, Amphion moving stones for the walls of Thebes, or Orpheus enchanting nature and mankind with his songs.

⁹ From Gela, Sicily. Furtwängler 1890; Beazley ARV² 1963: 1103f, 1683; Para: 451; Add: 329; Schefold and Jung 1988: 86–7.



6. Orpheus ascends the *bema*. Rome, Villa Giulia, M 534. – Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica per l'Etruria Meridionale, neg. no. 10329

Orpheus as a myth and as a topic in vase paintings

Orpheus, probably the best known of the figures just mentioned, is a relative latecomer in mythology. ¹⁰ In the textual tradition he appears for the first time very briefly around 600, ¹¹ the second time around 570 in connection with his musical power in general and with the story of the Argonauts in particular (when he goes to the underworld and creates through his music a benevolent inclination among its rulers). We have an early representation of this scene on a relief in Delphoi¹² but not in vase painting. So far, among all black-figure vase paintings only two with the Orpheus theme have come to light. One shows him with five birds and a deer. ¹³ The other, on an oinochoe, represents him as a male contestant in a musical *agon* (*fig.* 6): ¹⁴ he holds an elaborate *kithara* and is just about to ascend the *bema*. Without the inscription "XAIPE OPΦEYΣ" identification would be impossible. Musical *agon*, not infrequent in black- and red-figure vase painting, is nowhere else associated with him. Fortunately both representations, as isolated as they are, can be related to contemporary textual sources: the Boeotian bowl to a text by Simonides (born ca. 556) which speaks of birds and fish

¹⁰ For an introduction see Ziegler 1939 and Schaumburg 1965.

¹¹ Alcaeus, ca. 600; fragment 80 in Diehl's Anthologia lyrica, 1925; I, 425; see Kern's review of Guthrie 1935.

¹² Metope at the treasury of Sikyon, see Schoeller 1969: 7, 12, 76, and 81, and pl. 1–2; and Böhme 1970: 14–8.

¹³ Small cup from Boeotia. olim Halle, Otto-Kern Collection. Kern 1938/39; Schoeller 1969: 12, 21, 25f., 76, and 81, and pl. VI.1

¹⁴ Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, M 534 (Soprintendenza Archeologica per l'Etruria Meridionale, no. 50627). Black-figure oinochoe (fragment). Beazley *ABV*²: 432.4; *Add*²: 111.

surrounding Orpheus because of his sweet music (Frag. 40, ed. *Anthologia lyrica* II, 75), the second to Pindar who in his fourth Pythian ode calls Orpheus the father of the singers (176f.).

On red-figure vases of the fifth century Orpheus scenes appear in greater number; they do not, however, represent his role among the Argonauts but his musical activity in Thracia, his death, and his oracular severed head. Among these topics the one most frequently chosen is his death by the hands of enraged Thracian women. It is shown more than fifty times (Brommer 1960: 355–7, Schoeller 1969: 60–2, cf. also Schmidt 1972 and 1973) and was also dramatized by Aeschylus in his *Bassarai*. Only thirteen examples of Orpheus the musician, sitting on a hill surrounded by listeners, have become known (see list in Hoffmann 1970: 44; we discuss here his nos. 1, 2, 4–6, 11, and the vase Hamburg inv. no. 1968.74). Scholars have wondered why Orpheus dying should be so much more popular than Orpheus making music. One, albeit formalistic, explanation is that the topic is particularly suitable for the vase medium. As we have remarked earlier, vase painters, and visual artists in general, seemed to be mostly interested in the action and physical movement of a group, as in dances, processions, battles, fights and duels, or contests. From this perspective Orpheus enchanting his listeners is a less intriguing topic than a *melée* of women going after a victim.

A comparison of Orpheus' music scenes

Actually two of our thirteen pictures still make the connection with the killing scene. The first one, on a vase from Naples (figs. 7-10), 15 displays in the upper frieze Orpheus seated and playing, surrounded by six Thracians standing, leaning, or sitting, and a Greek man walking, as well as two horses. The lower frieze shows two groups, each consisting of two women with various weapons chasing Orpheus and followed by a man. Both scenes contain eminently theatrical elements, the lower one relying on movement, the upper one on the variety of gesture and position. It seems that the vase does not date from an earlier time than most of the others, i.e. the Parthenon time, but it nevertheless strikes me as older in design. I shall return to this in a moment.

The other painting is on New York, Metropolitan 24.97.30 (*fig. 11*);¹⁶ here the two topics are combined in a completely different way. On the left we see Orpheus seated; the right hand with the plectron is resting on his thigh, the left still touching the strings of the *lyra*; in the center a Thracian warrior is standing with a spear; he gestures to the right and appears to be arguing with a woman holding a sickle in her left; her right leg rests on a rock. The scene encompasses two different elements of the story, showing the moment when the music has ended and the attack is about to happen. Neither Orpheus's power over men, nor his death, are depicted, only the tension between the two situations.

Apart from combining our subject with the topic of killing, these two paintings have much in common with the remaining eleven. To gain a general idea of the iconographic repertoire we shall briefly analyze a few major elements of the whole group.

Orpheus's position: All vases show Orpheus seated, and almost all — the Hamburg vase being the exception — emphasize a state of relaxation by depicting the musician with an arched back; in a few instances his legs are crossed. Sometimes the outlines of a hill or rock are recognizable.

¹⁵ Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 2889, Cup krater from Paestum. Beazley ARV2:1096; on Hoffmann's list no. 2.

¹⁶ Athenian bell krater by the painter of London, E 497 (Scene B: woman pours libation for an athlete). Beazley *ARV*²: 1079.2; *Add*²: 326; on Hoffmann's list no. 6.





7. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 2889. – Photo: Museum 8. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 2889. – Photo: Museum





9. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 2889. – Photo: Museum 10. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 2889. – Photo: Museum

Handling of instrument: There are three different hand positions. The vase from Naples (fig. 7) shows the musician holding in his right hand a plectron and strumming with it. Similar action is depicted on another vase from Naples¹⁷ and on Berlin (fig. 5) and Anagni.¹⁸ A position between playing and resting with Orpheus's right hand pointing with the plectron slightly downward is given on three other vases (figs. 10-13, New York, Hamburg,¹⁹ and Portland²⁰). On the vase from Tartu²¹ he is shown with one hand at the collar for tuning.

Head position: Here too we can distinguish three positions. Orpheus may be looking down, straight ahead, or slightly upward. The Berlin painting is exceptional in this respect. Here he is sitting with his head tilted all the way back in a posture indicating complete abandon or frenzy. We are reminded of similar expressions on two famous music vases, the Dionysus on Paris 576 (fig. 14), 22 and the $kithar\bar{o}dos$ on Boston 26.61 (fig. 16). 23

Audience and grouping: Usually the surrounding figures, Thracian men in arms, with a spear and sometimes a horse, or a Silenus, all stand tall, looking straight at the musician. The only exception is the vase from Naples (*figs.* 7–10), where the artist does not attempt a grouping around Orpheus, but sticks to the concept of a line-up of figures, which strikes us as older. The rest of the vases avoid the "frieze concept" and share the idea of grouping and interrelating the figures. Since Furtwängler's perceptive analysis of the Berlin vase (1890: 157), many scholars have insisted on the artistic influence of Polygnotos, a famous artist of wall-paintings active in the second quarter of the fifth century. Although wall paintings, with their different organization of space, may be responsible for this new concept of grouping,²⁴ it seems to me that the often claimed thematic connection between our vase and Polygnotos's picture of Orpheus among the dead in a Nekyia in Delphoi is a tenuous one. Apparently scholars trying to make the connection had in mind Aristotle's testimony that ethos resides in Polygnotos's figures (see Krause 1965). But what Polygnotos actually depicted in this particular instance was Orpheus not in the act of playing but holding his *kithara* in one hand and grasping a branch of a willow with the other.²⁵

Let us consider the grouping of the figures by establishing an imaginary scale on which "absence of clear grouping" would be marked on the far left and "intense relationship among all group members" on the far right side. On such a scale Naples 2889 (*figs. 7–10*) would figure on

- 17 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 146739, column krater from Naples, by the Agrigento painter. A) Orpheus *lyra* playing, a Thracian, and a Silenus, B) Youths and boy. Beazley *ARV*²: 574.6; *Para*: 521; *Add*²: 262; on Hoffmann's list no. 4; reproduced *ibidem*, fig. 8.
- 18 Zurich, market, *olim* Anagni, Museo del Duomo. Bell krater of the Sisyphos group (Apulia, *ca.* 350). Trendall and Cambitoglou 1978: 7.12; Hoffmann 1970: 41 (with bibliography) and fig. 11; Brommer 1960: 358.
- 19 Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, inv. no. 1968.79. Column krater by the Naples painter (Scene B: bearded man and youth with walking sticks, woman). Beazley ARV²: 1097.21ter; Para: 450; Add²: 328; Hoffmann 1970.
- 20 Portland (Oregon), Portland Art Museum, Gift of Helen Ladd Corbett, 36.137. Column krater (Scene B: woman and youths). Beazley *ARV*²: 1120.3; *Para*: 452; *Add*²: 331; on Hoffmann's list no. 5.
- 21 University collection, 107. Pelike from Cervetri by the Villa Giulia painter, A) Orpheus *lyra* playing, a Thracian, B) youth and woman. Beazley *ARV*²: 622.52; on Hoffmann's list no. 11; reproduced *ibidem*, fig. 10.
- 22 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 576. Cup by the Brygos painter. Beazley ARV2: 371.14; 1649; Para: 365, 367; Add2: 225.
- 23 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 26.61 (John Michael Rodocanachi Fund). Amphora from Gela attributed to the Brygos painter. Beazley *ARV*²: 383.199; *Para*: 366; *Add*²: 228. See also London, British Museum, B 367; relief from Melos, Jacobsthal 1931: no. 76.
- 24 Ingeborg Scheibler mentions in particular a rhythmization of space and the staggering of planes, as well as new realistic details, 1967: 212.
- 25 Pausanias, X, 30, 6: "Casting your eye back again to the lower part of the picture you perceive, next to Patroclus, Orpheus seated as it were on a sort of hill. With his left hand he grasps the lute [recte: cithara], while with the other hand he touches some willow-branches, and he is leaning against the tree. The grove seems to be the grove of Proserpine, where, as Homer thinks, black poplars and willows grow. The aspect of Orpheus is Greek: neither his dress nor head-covering is Thracian. On the other side of the willow leans Promedon ..." (ed. Frazer, I, 545).



11. New York, Metropolitan Museum, Fletcher Fund, 24.97.30. – Photo: Museum



12. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1968.79. – Photo: Museum



13. Portland, Art Museum, 36.137, Gift of H. Ladd Corbett. – Photo: Museum



14. Dionysus in a frenzy. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, 576. – Photo: Library

the left and the vase from Berlin on the far right. New York 24.97.30 (fig. 11) would be on the left side too, because Orpheus is isolated. The central figure relates not to him but to the woman to the left. Two vases reduce the scene to Orpheus and one listener (Tartu and Anagni), and the artist seems to leave it at that without making a particular effort to relate the two more closely. The Portland vase (fig. 13) adds a horse on the right side and a Silenus on the left, but relies on the mere juxtaposition of figures, not on an inner connection, to indicate a relation. The Agrigento painter on the second vase from Naples (146739, see above n. 17) reverses the positions of the listeners; he shows the Thracian on the left and the Silenus on the right side. The omission of the horse and the closeness of the figures create a stronger atmosphere of connectedness; this painting could be assigned to the center of our scale. Slightly to the right of it I would place the example from Hamburg (fig. 12). It uses the same principle as Portland, but fills the space with more people; the four figures overlap. But the scene is somewhat stiff: the heads are all at about the same level, the torsos (including Orpheus's) straight, the gestures angular. Even if we consider not only positions but gestures as well²⁶ (which clearly function as a means to relate the figures), they all still go no further than formal conventions and operate with indicative not expressive devices, except the vase from Berlin. Ranging between the far left and a bit to the right of the center, these seven examples cluster rather closely together and leave the Berlin vase strongly isolated.



Still unaccounted for is the fascinating atmosphere with which the Orpheus painter visualized the magic of sound.²⁷ Orpheus is sitting in an unrestrained performing position, his back arched but quite relaxed, the head turned away from the instrument, gazing upwards into the void. His lips are slightly parted, a gesture suggestive of rapt listening or soft singing. The soldier to the right is truly spellbound; his eyes are fixed on Orpheus's lips; with an expression of complete absorption he holds on to the spear, his right leg lifted and posted on the rock. The two figures to the left are standing close together; the man far left is resting his head on the shoulder of his colleague, who in turn has grabbed his spear with both hands for support. His eyes are closed, while his friend is staring downward. While all of these four figures touch or at least visually slightly overlap, the fifth man to the far right stands isolated, and somewhat turned, both legs stiff and parallel, but one foot pointing away from the group; he is wrapping his coat tightly around his body, keeping the spear close, watching the group over his right shoulder in disapproval or fear. He is obviously in a state of conscious reflection and resistance as if counteracting the spell to which his friends clearly have succumbed. One is struck by the extraordinary ability of the painter to illuminate the psychic conflict of this man both through his appearance and the context. In contrast to his rigid, defensive stance, the bared bodies of the others might be swaying in rhythm; they are moved, oblivious of themselves, and have become vessels for the divine spirit of the music. An interesting comparable situation has been found by

²⁶ As they have been described in Jacobsthal 1931 and Neumann 1965.

²⁷ The best descriptions are found in Furtwängler 1890, Schefold 1943: 58 and 203, and Buschor 1969: 116f. Wegner aptly writes (1963: 116): "Willig folgen wir dem Maler und lassen uns gefangen nehmen von seiner überlegenen Kunst differenzierter psychologischer Charakterisierung."

Margot Schmidt in a vase painting of *ca.* 480/470²⁸ showing a Thracian woman in a state of indecision before going for the kill of Orpheus. The time difference of one generation between the two vases is evident in the greater expressiveness and subtlety of the figure on the Berlin vase.

Other pictures

Our next task is to examine vase paintings which depict a similar idea of music-making but with a different theme. Not surprisingly, already before Orpheus' music became a subject for depiction, the topic of intimate music-making was expanding. We see scenes of music-making among the Muses as well as in contemporary life: at symposia, in musical education, or as a domestic pastime. Among the mythical themes we find Apollo or another musician and a few Muses playing and listening, as for instance on the bell krater Berlin 2401 (fig. 15)²⁹ or a Maenad listening to a Silenus playing the aulos;³⁰ among the domestic scenes music-making in the women's quarters is common.³¹ For both thematic complexes there is something of a standard image at work; it consists of one player (standing or sitting) and one or two other figures in a listening posture. This model is epitomized around 480 — one generation before our Orpheus painter is active — on the well-known Boston amphora by the Brygos painter (figs. 16–7). This painting seems to prove the point I made about indicative gestures. The listener (fig. 17) is related to the player not spatially, but through a posture that identifies him as an audience. The vase is noteworthy for another reason, too. The scene is spread over the entire vessel, with the player on the front and the listener on the back side. This monothematic design has disappeared in the vases of the Parthenon time. Now we frequently find two scenes with the main subject placed on one side, a secondary one on the other. However, the two scenes are not complete thematic opposites of equally relevant contents. The secondary subject, being of a quiet nature and displaying relative insignificance, is meant to throw light back on the primary one. The purpose of this arrangement is an Intensitätsgefälle, not an absolute contrast between the two sides of the vase. This incline of intensity is relatively flat on the Boston vase where the listener refers back to the kitharōdos, yet, as the passive recipient to the active performer, is an integral part of the theme which thus comprises music both as a creative and an affecting force; the incline is steep in the Orpheus scenes of the next generation, because the secondary scene is no longer a thematic, but only a formal, counterpart of the main theme. The Orpheus painter chooses for this purpose two pairs of people engaged in dialogue (fig. 18) — everyday happenings, the opposite of an entrancing musical experience; he thus contrasts the colloquial and sober with the elevated and ecstatic. A very similar solution was chosen by the Peleus painter on the neck-amphora London E 271, where Musaios and the Muses (fig. 19) are shown back-to-back with a street scene.³² The application of this idea by the Orpheus painter is very fitting; it emphasizes the message of the central scene.33 In the decoration on the bell krater Berlin 2401 the same principles are at work: scene A) showing Apollo, Terpsichore with lyra

²⁸ Schmidt 1973: 99f., with illustration: circle of the Brygos painter, olim Lausanne, private collection.

²⁹ Berlin, Staatliches Museum, 2401. Bell krater by the Klio painter (Scene B: man and woman). Beazley *ARV*²: 1080.1. — Jacobsthal gives two more examples: column krater of Corneto, close to 440, see *idem* 1931: 191, no. 7, and a red-figure pyxis in Athens, National Museum, C.C. 1553, *ca.* 440, see *idem* 1931: 191, no. 9.

³⁰ Goluchov Castle, Jacobsthal 1931: 191, no. 10.

³¹ See Alexandra Voutira's contribution in this volume.

³² London, British Museum, E 271. Neck-amphora by the Peleus painter. Beazley *ARV*²: 1039.13; *Para*: 443; *Add*²: 319. Scene B is reproduced in *CVA London III*, *Ic*, pl. 12.2.

³³ Buschor 1969: 217, comparing it also to Hamburg 1968.79 and London E 271.



15. Portland, Art Museum, 36.137, Gift of H. Ladd Corbett. - Photo: Museum



16. Citharoedus. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, J. M. Rodocanachi Fund, 26.61. – Photo: Museum 17. Listener. Same vase as 16. – Photo: Museum



18. Berlin, Antikenmuseum, 3172, back side. - Photo: Ute Jung, Museum

and Klio standing (*fig. 16*); scene B) a nondescript couple. Except for the hydriai all our vases of this time period follow the same rule (see footnotes 16–21; New York 24.9730, Naples 146739, Anagni, Hamburg, Portland, and Tartu).

When, around the middle of the fifth century, painters begin to group people more closely in a listening experience, they continue to place two standing listeners or observers — often Muses — around a central sitting player facing to the right.³⁴ Details of these groupings, too, can be traced back to the same indicative gestures that were present already a generation earlier in the Boston vase. Only a few artists go farther and make an attempt to create an inner coherence among the figures. A prominent example is the hydria, Athens 1260 (*fig. 20*),³⁵ showing Sappho and her girlfriends in close — almost interlocking — proximity to each other. On our imaginary scale of "connectedness" I would rank this painting as highly as the Hamburg vase (*fig. 12*). On a hydria showing Thamyris and the Muses (*fig. 21*)³⁶ the Phiale painter isolates the player, conveying not the atmosphere of absorption or *Versunkenheit*, but that of contest judged by expert listeners. The other famous music scene of Musaios,

³⁴ Discussing another painting of listening Muses, Margot Schmidt has this to say (1972: 129): "Die Stille dieser Szene ist für klassische Musenbilder bezeichnend. Musen sind selten aktiv, sie verstehen es, zu lauschen und sich zu versenken. Wenn mythische Musikanten auftreten, sind sie gute Zuhörerinnen."

³⁵ Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1260. Beazley ARV2: 1060.145; Para: 445; Add2: 323.

³⁶ Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, 16549, Hydria of the Phiale painter. Beazley ARV²: 1020.92; Para: 441; Add²: 316.



19. Terpsichore watched by Musaios; Melousa checks the double reeds of her *aulos*. London, British Museum, E 271. – Photo: Museum



20. Sappho and her girlfriends. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 1260. – Photo: after Schefold 1943



21. Thamyris and the Muses. Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, 16549. – Photo: Museum

Terpsichore, and Melusa (fig. 19) presents the situation inverted with Musaios listening and a Muse playing. In my opinion this vase painting comes closest to our Orpheus scene in many respects. The atmosphere is more intense than in the other pictures; so it would score farther to the right on my scale than any of them. Even so, it is still a considerable distance from our vase. The painter here has set himself a very different goal from the one aimed at in the Orpheus krater. He wants to show a friendly contest in which a variety of instruments are involved. Musaios has already played and watches attentively; Terpsichore does her very best, concentrating, with wide-open eyes; Melusa checks her instrument and watches the scene. The serious, positive mood that strikes the onlooker is the result of a visualization of musical eukosmia and eunomia through gracefulness, order, and a balanced, sophisticated distribution of pictorial elements. Karl Schefold specifically chooses the adjective "musical" to describe the aesthetic quality of this picture (1943: 60).

With our final example of red-figure Attic vase painting we move from the subject of enchantment, contest, or *eunomia* to a domestic scene of music making. There is a particularly moving painting by the Danaë painter (*fig.* 22).³⁷ Although he placed the two listening women

³⁷ New York, Metropolitan Museum, 23.160.80. Bell krater by Danaë painter: A) Two girls listen to a third girl playing the barbiton; B) 3 women. Beazley *ARV*²: 1075.10; *Para*: 449; *Add*²: 326.



22. Two girls listen to a barbiton player. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 23.160.80. – Photo: Museum

at quite some distance from the player, he still achieves the impression of domestic intimacy, intense listening and enjoyment. Within a stabilizing frame provided by the two columns the three women move and gesture freely. The atmosphere is completely relaxed and has a touching spontaneity.

Music on Lekythoi: sound and silence

There is only one repertoire that seems to produce pictures that can match in emotional intensity the Berlin vase by the Orpheus painter: the paintings on white-ground vases, in particular funeral lekythoi. We use the incomparable study of Buschor (1959) as a guide for our inquiry.

The compositions of music scenes on lekythoi differ from those on contemporary midcentury red-figure and white-ground vases in so far as they contain fewer figures and more open space. If we compare the scene with the Muses on the white-ground krater Vatican 16586 (fig. 23)³⁸ with the material presented so far, only the last example, the painting on the New York vase 23.160.80 (fig. 22), comes close with respect to simplicity and intimacy. Yet on the

³⁸ Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, 16586, krater by Phiale painter: A) Hermes brings the boy Dionysus to an old Silenus, B) Muses playing and listening. Beazley *ARV*²: 1017.54, 1678; *Para*: 440; *Add*²: 315.



23. Muses playing and listening. Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, 16586. - Photo: Museum

lekythos music is not in the service of innocent pleasure but is used to express grief and loss. The distance between the three figures cannot, of course, be explained as a traditional line-up of figures; it is intentional and meaningful: in death contacts are severed, and silence reigns.

Whether the discovery that acoustical silence can be transformed into the visual silence of empty space was an accidental one or not, we have no way of knowing. But once discovered, I believe, it was applied consciously. It must strike us as extraordinary because, contrary to East- and Southeast-Asian music aesthetics, in which silence is an integral part of music, the West has only occasionally emphasized it — perhaps most overtly in the realm of lute music and its connection to the image of *vanitas*. What makes the atmosphere of these lekythospaintings so intense and infinitely sad is the combination of music with silence. Sound is right next to the abyss of nothingness (see *fig. 24* and *this volume*, Beschi, *fig. 16*);³⁹ sound and silence are recognized as equivalents of filled and empty space, life and death. Nothing could make the correspondence clearer than a musical scene on a lekythos (cf. Beschi's article in *this volume*).

³⁹ For Fig. 23 see Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1889.1016, white-ground lekythos from Gela by the Achilles painter: one women sitting with kithara, the other standing with lyre. Beazley *ARV*²: 1000.195; *Add*²: 313. — For the vase reproduced in Beschi, *this volume*, fig. 16 see Munich, Antikensammlung, Schoen, 80 (formerly Lugano, private collection). White-ground lekythos by the Achilles painter: Muse playing on Helikon, one woman listening. Beazley *ARV*²: 997.155; *Para*: 438; *Add*²: 312.



24. Two music-making women. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1889.1016. – Photo: Museum

When artists in other times or cultures deal with the images of music in the hereafter, they choose the music of the angels and elders of the Apocalypse or the Islamic garden or the paradise of the Buddha, all positive religious images with some dogmatic comfort. The Greeks of the 5th century felt differently. I believe it is more than a coincidence that these lekythoi come from the same time as Sophoclean tragedy. In both instances mortals struggle with the impossible, the unacceptable.

The conflict governing the Greek tragedies is also evident in the painting by the Orpheus painter, which seems to exude the same inexorable finality conveyed to the audience watching a tragedy unfold. Aeschylus and Euripides both wrote plays in which the devastating effect of Orphean or Dionysian ecstasy is described.⁴⁰ On our vase, the Thracian on the far right appears to have the role of judging portents and forewarning those allowing themselves to be carried away of the fate that will befall Orpheus.

An application of Damon's theories

Perhaps a more direct relationship between pictorial and textual evidence can be established with passages from philosophical sources. A Greek expert in music matters, Damon of Athens, was in his prime around 460 and was ostracized just about the time when our vase was painted. Unfortunately his thoughts have come down to us only through intermediaries, hence as fragments. What can be reconstructed from later texts, by Plato and others, is his insistence on a link between music, ethos, and psyche,⁴¹ and he seems to have been the first to do this systematically. While in the early 5th century, music had still been mostly a matter of agon and rhapsodic recitation (as far as it was not part of rituals and theater), it now became part of the education of a wider circle of the population. For this Damon provides the ethical framework by associating music and human behavior. Movement of soul and movement of sound are related, and so are musical modality and psychic attunement (Stimmung). Plato adopted this theory. If one reads what he has to say about Damon's teaching, one gets the impression that the control of musical harmoniai must have been almost an obsession. According to Lasserre, the sixth century seems to have been still more tolerant in this respect (1954: 45-7). But during Pericles' time a direct correlation between the increased use of music and an increased awareness of its danger and its power is measurable in the frequency of vase paintings that in one way or another visualize the power of music over the soul.⁴² Could it be that from Damon's point of view, our picture is meant as a warning message to the onlooker? In order to answer that we would have to try and link the atmosphere our picture emanates to ethical theory. Clearly Orpheus is not playing in the Dorian harmonia, which is considered particularly positive; we do not see the Thracians stirred up to manly actions. The Phrygian harmonia is seen as promoting wisdom, moderation, and even a mystic union between man and God, while the Lydian is associated with threnos and feminine emotionalism. Here the choice is difficult. Were one to link the picture of Orpheus to Orphism, one would have to opt for the Phrygian harmonia, because the Orphics understood music to be the ideal tool to achieve purification and re-entry into the universal

⁴⁰ Aeschylus' *Bassarai* is only known by a few fragments. Euripides' *Bacchae* is one of his last works and was written at the end of the century.

⁴¹ Busse 1928; Wegner 1952. Ryffel (1947) and Lasserre (1954) have given Damon a position which seems to be exaggerated (see Düring's review of Lasserre).

⁴² As observed by Buschor 1969: 215. — It is very much in line with this observation that Buschor considers Phidias' influence on vase painting greater than that of Polygnotos or Aeschylus.

whole.⁴³ In this case the painting would be a document of Orphism, or — to put it a bit flippantly — an advertisement for it. I must leave it to the experts to discuss Orphism in the visual arts, and can only advance this interpretation as a hypothesis. If, on the other hand, we relate the painting to the myth as emphasized in Greek tragedy and in other vase paintings, viz. Orpheus's violent death, we would have to opt for the Lydian harmonia, because Orpheus's music appears to create a mood which is emasculating his Thracian warriors and will make him in time the victim of unbridled female emotions. Possibly the artist himself felt ambivalent about music and wanted to make the mystery itself a subject of his painting, in which case we will never be able to answer these questions with any confidence.

Although we cannot pin down an exact date for the spread of Damon's ideas, the vase of the Orpheus painter is iconographically unthinkable twenty-five years earlier or twenty-five years later and can thus be understood, in strictly historical terms, as a document of a specific period. Yet the linkage with important trends in contemporary thinking does not make it an average witness. Its sheer beauty and formal perfection and its truth have an overwhelming quality and they transcend each other. We could not wish for a more appropriate visual response to the experience of the great and incomprehensible power of music.

⁴³ Schueller 1988: 20, referring to Iamblichus. For Orpheus and Orphism, see Guthrie 1952.

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Mousikè Téchne e Thánatos: l'immagine della musica sulle lekythoi funerarie attiche a fondo bianco

Luigi Beschi

Suono di flauti e battito di lire per la città non si oda, ove trascorse dodici lune non saranno piene. Ché persona più cara nel sepolcro io non porrò già mai, né a me più amica. E degna è che io l'onori, perché sola, al mio posto, ebbe il cuore di morire. (Euripides, *Alcestis*, 430–434; tr. C. Diano)

Così Admeto canta la perdita di Alcesti nella tragedia euripidea. L'onore alla memoria di Alcesti è anche il lutto di un anno senza musica. Il coro riecheggia l'invito di Admeto, replicando che i poeti le daranno gloria "con inni senza lira" (ibid. 117: ἀλύροις κλέοντες ἵμνοις). Questi inni austeri, privi del supporto — anche se monodico — della lira. li conosciamo. L'epikédion, cantato alla presenza del morto, secondo una tradizione antichissima delle prefiche piangenti che attorniano il letto della próthesis, è il più rituale. Il A partire dalle scene di compianto del tardogeometrico fino alle sintesi commosse di periodo classico lo strumento musicale è assente dalle mani delle lamentatrici. Se, nell'hydria corinzia da Cerveteri del 560 circa a.C., nelle mani di una Nereide attorno al letto funebre di Achille è una lira, questa non appartiene al compianto, ma piuttosto al contesto semantico delle armi del grande eroe che sono esposte sotto la klíne.² È un segno del suo passato, quando, nella solitudine della tenda e dell'"ira funesta", egli accompagnava sulla preziosa phorminx il canto delle gesta eroiche alla rapita attenzione di Patroclo (Homeros, Ilias, IX 186). L'epikèdion, come il thrènos (o élegos). che era destinato, oltre i limiti del rito funebre, ad ogni occasione di malinconico omaggio ai defunti, poteva esser accompagnato solo dall'aulòs che, con il suo lamento, muoveva il pathos e provocava il pianto (πάθος κινεῖ καὶ δάκουον ἐκβάλλει).³ Così si illumina la rara presenza di un auleta che accompagna il canto di una ekphorà, o trasporto funebre, sul labbro di un kantharos attico a figure nere da Vulci.⁴ In tal modo, rispetto alla coinvolgente presenza della musica vocale e strumentale in ogni momento della vita, si evidenzia una sua limitata funzione, un ruolo di austera emotività, nel mondo dei riti e dei costumi funerari della Grecia antica.

È ancora Euripide che, nell'Ifigenia in Tauride, fa dire alla sua eroina (*Iphigenia Taurica*, 143 ss.): "sono sprofondata in tristi lamentazioni, in canti che le Muse rifiutano, in pianti senza lira (ἀλύοοις ἐλέγοις). Io piango per la vita perduta del fratello mio", mentre più avanti il coro invoca (*ibid*. 182 ss.) "un cantico dei morti; non il suono del peana, ma il suono dell'Ade".

Eppure nel mondo delle immagini connesse con l'ideologia funeraria dei Greci, la musica, in particolare quella espressa dall'impiego di uno strumento musicale, ha le sue articolate manifestazioni. I grandi eroi della musica occupavano uno spazio definito nella *Nékyia* di Polignoto

Wegner 1949: 99, 219; Wegner 1963: 40–1, fig. 18.

¹ Michaelides 1978: 105. Cfr. anche Ahlberg 1971: 261–7. Per la cortese fornitura di materiale fotografico ringrazio la Direzione dei Musei di Atene, Berlino, Boston, Monaco, Parigi (Louvre), Vienna (Kunsthist, Museum).

³ Plutarchos, Quaestiones Conviviales, III 8, 2. Michaelides 1978: 332–3.

⁴ CVA Paris, Bibl. Nat. II: 52; Reiner 1938: 67; Wegner 1949: 100, 192; Wegner 1963: 38–9, fig. 17.

a Delfi: Orfeo, seduto sotto un salice piangente, teneva la *kithàra*. Trace, egli aveva, secondo la descrizione di Pausania (*Graeciae descriptio*, X 30,6), quell'aspetto greco che, forse, ha dettato una delle immagini più ispirate e affascinanti dell'iconografia musicale ellenica, nel noto cratere di Berlino.⁵ Il trace Tamiri, vecchio dimesso e accecato a causa dell'*hybris* della sua gara con le Muse, ha la lira rotta ai suoi piedi. E Marsia frigio, seduto su una roccia, insegna il suono degli *aulòi* a Olympos.⁶ Ma le tre figure mitiche non sono una celebrazione della musica nel regno delle ombre. Martiri della musica, di una musica umana contrapposta al divino, essi esprimono le tragiche conseguenze di una irriverente considerazione del μηδὲν ἄγαν delfico. Anche se un frammento di Pindaro (no. 129, ed. Schroeder) sembra ravvisare nel regno di Persefone le piacevoli attività della vita ("... alcuni si divertono nelle corse dei cavalli o nel pugilato, altri nel gioco dei dadi, altri ancora nel suono della *phorminx*"), le fonti letterarie che conferiscono una vita musicale all'Ade sono rarissime, problematiche, e tarde.⁷

Ciononostante ha preso piede, ad opera del Delatte (1913: 331), del Wegner (1949: 99–102) e di altri ancora, l'idea che la musica rallegri la solitudine e la tristezza delle ombre nell'Aldilà. Una prova sarebbe costituita dalla presenza delle Sirene musicanti ai margini delle aree tombali o come acroteri a rilievo sulla sommità delle stele funerarie. Certamente sono "Muse dell'Aldilà", come le ha felicemente denominate il Buschor (1944: 6 ss.), ma il suono dei loro *aulòi* e della lira, il canto che accompagna il loro gesto di disperazione, sono ambigui. Il problema meriterebbe, da solo, un approfondimento, che esula dai nostri propositi odierni. Basterà ricordare, che, da un lato, la loro musica ammalia e porta alla morte, il che spiega la loro funzione, come simboli apotropaici, di terribili custodi delle tombe, ma, dall'altro, esprime una loro simpatia con il mondo dei morti, che piangono con il gesto del *kopetòs* e con una lugubre trenodia. Un incantesimo di morte che non sembra, comunque, aprire larghi spazi al conforto.8

Una connessione musicale è evidente anche nella composizione di certi corredi tombali. L'antiquario L. Fauvel, agli inizi dell'Ottocento, aveva scoperto lungo la Via Sacra tra Atene ed Eleusi, presso Dafní, una deposizione femminile: la defunta, con una corona d'olivo in bronzo dorato, un pettine e i sandali ben conservati, era accompagnata da un semplice corredo composto da due vasi a vernice nera, dai resti di una cassetta lignea e da una lira, allora acquistata da Lord Elgin, e oggi nel Museo Britannico (cfr., ora, Poehlmann 1987: 319–31). Sempre da una tomba dell'Attica proviene la coppia di *aulòi* in sicomoro, pervenuti, tramite Lord Elgin, nello stesso Museo (Schlesinger 1939: 360, 410 tav. 17). E così, lire e *aulòi* provengono dalla ricca necropoli di Locri, mentre attendiamo ancora l'edizione dello straordinario ritrovamento di Helioupolis, presso Atene, del 1981. Una tomba, troppo rapidamente denominata "tomba del poeta", conteneva un *aulòs* di legno, i resti di una lira, i probabili resti di un'arpa, sei tavolette cerate iscritte, un papiro, uno stilo di bronzo, un calamaio e un pugno di astragali. Forse un contesto che riflette, per la presenza dell'arpa, strumento squisitamente femminile, e degli astragali, il mondo gentile della *paidèia* di una fanciulla. Il rapporto fra strumento musicale e defunto, che ci ha conservato nei corredi una ideologia che va esplorata, nonché alcuni preziosi

⁵ *ARV*² 1103,1; *Para* 451; *Add*² 329; Wegner 1949: 217, fig. 21; Wegner 163: 116–7; Simon 1981: fig. 203. Vedi l'articolo di Seebass in *questo volume*.

⁶ Cfr. un tentativo di ricostruzione della Nekyia di Polignoto in Robert 1892; cfr. anche Beschi 1991: 39–43.

⁷ Jamblichos, De vita Pythagorica, 148; Pseudo-Aristoteles, Mirabiles Auscultationes, 101. Cfr. altre fonti in Delatte 1913: 329.

⁸ Vedder 1985: 134 ss., 276 ss.; Hofstetter 1990: *passim* e, in part., 151 ss., 183 ss.

⁹ Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità 1917: 104, 163–7 (Locri). Journal of Hellenic Studies: Archaeological Reports 1981–82: 11; Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 106 (1982): 533 (Helioupolis-Atene).

¹⁰ Per l'uso dell'arpa cfr. Herbig 1929; Wegner 1949: 47–51; Paquette 1984: 189–92.



1. Stele funeraria. Basel, Antikenmuseum. – Foto: Museo

documenti organologici, si riflette anche all'esterno della tomba, nel *mnèma* che stabiliva — tramite l'immagine — un legame tra il rito funerario vero e proprio e la considerazione sociale del defunto stesso (fig. 1).¹¹

In un caso, è la musica stessa che si fa monumento, nel *kioniskos* commemorativo di Seikilos, dall'area di Tralles in Asia Minore, con la sapienza malinconica del suo epitafio provvisto di notazione musicale.¹²

¹¹ Cfr. Atene M.N. 735 (stele acarnana): Wolters 1891; Lippold 1950: 114,3. München Glypt. 481: Diepolder 1926; Lippold 1950: 211, 11. Basilea, Antikenmuseum: Schefold 1958, con fig. 31. Salonicco, Museo Archeologico (da Potidea): Sakellariou (a c. di) 1982: fig. 49. E inoltre: Pfuhl 1901: 271 (Alessandria); Studniczka 1888: 195 ss. (Chio).

¹² Poehlmann 1970: nr. 18; Neubecker 1977: 149 tav. 8; Berti e Restani 1988: 33, fig. 4.

Ma il settore che offre, sotto questo profilo, il maggior numero di documenti, una certa varietà iconografica, e, quindi, ampie possibilità di sondaggio, è quello delle *lekythoi* attiche a fondo bianco. Variamente studiate dal Beazley (1938), dal Buschor (1925), dalla Karouzou (s.d.) e, negli anni più recenti, dalla Kurtz (1975), esse mancano ancora di una indagine circoscritta al valore semantico delle scene con implicazioni musicali, sia quelle con lo strumento suonato o gestito da una figura, sia quelle nelle quali esso appare isolato, come attributo o come offerta. La risposta che potremmo dare ai problemi suggeriti dalle immagini è relativa all'ideologia funeraria ateniese di un breve periodo, circoscritto tra il 460 e gli ultimi decenni del V secolo, un periodo di intensa vita politico-culturale, tra il momento di Pericle e la crisi della guerra del Peloponneso. Ma il breve squarcio di tempo può, per la densità dei problemi, riversare linee interpretative anche su altri periodi e su altre classi di materiali.

La *lekythos* a fondo bianco, già destinata ad impieghi nell'atletica, diventa, a partire dal periodo severo, tra il 480 e il 470, vaso di esclusiva destinazione funeraria e pertanto rappresenta un supporto di scene correlate alla sua funzione. ¹⁴ Queste, slegandosi progressivamente dalla tradizionale varietà iconografica (figure del mondo mitico e religioso) che continua ad apparire nella sopravvivenza rituale delle *lekythoi* a figure nere e poi con quelle a figure rosse, cominciano a formulare una tematica funeraria attorno al 460 circa. ¹⁵ Agli inizi, gli accenni al mondo della morte sono indiretti e solo allusivi; talvolta mancano del tutto. Dalla metà del V secolo i temi diventano, invece, esclusivamente funerari con alcune tipologie fondamentali: la c.d. visita alla tomba (una stele, il *tymbos* dal profilo ovoide, un altare o *trapeza*); le più rare scene di *prothesis* e di *ekphorà* (desunta da iconografie mitico-eroiche) con l'intervento di Hypnos e Thanatos, la partenza con Hermes Psychopompos, il traghettamento di Caronte.

Un'altra premessa necessaria (preliminare, ma continuamente verificabile negli sviluppi della classe) deve sottolineare il carattere di queste scene: non realistiche, esse fondono in una sintesi fantastica o ideologica tempi e spazi diversi; un ricordo del defunto che non può che fare appello alla memoria del passato, e una registrazione del presente, significata dal gesto di omaggio alla tomba nella sua realtà monumentale.¹⁶

Le *lekythoi* funerarie a fondo bianco con implicazioni musicali sono circa quaranta. Il numero aumenta se, per doveroso confronto, si considerano anche quelle a figure rosse nelle quali il discorso funerario è meno pregnante. Per l'organizzazione iconografica delle raffigurazioni, ma ancor più per i loro valori ideologici ed espressivi, si possono individuare alcuni gruppi tipologici che, almeno in parte, si evolvono nel tempo.

Un primo gruppo presenta immagini e scene ancora prive di alcun riferimento diretto al mondo dei morti. Nessuna allusione, nessun simbolo. L'ambiente è quello della vita. Solo il fatto che la scena si trovi su un vaso ormai di esclusiva destinazione funeraria può suggerire una connessione mentale e quindi dare all'immagine il valore di un ricordo, il senso della commemorazione di una virtù, di uno *status* sociale e culturale. Il gruppo è databile tra il 460 e il 450, quindi rappresenta un punto di partenza. Un primo esempio è la *lekythos* di Atene M.N. 1792, attribuita al pittore di Bowdoin: una donna, preceduta da un cane in vivace movimento, suona il *barbiton* (*fig.* 2).¹⁷

¹³ L'unica silloge di *lekythoi* a fondo bianco con tema musicale in Delatte 1913: 318–21.

¹⁴ Arias 1963: 360 ss.; Kurtz 1975: passim.

¹⁵ Arias 1963: 364 ss.; Kurtz 1975: 133 ss.

¹⁶ Sul valore ideologico delle raffigurazioni cfr., ora, Baldassarre 1988: 107–15.

¹⁷ ARV² (2) 686, 207; Kurtz 1975: 106 n. 9 tav. 16,2.

È lo strumento del tiaso dionisiaco, ma è anche particolarmente presente nel gineceo, forse per una facile allusione alla poesia lirica che trova, proprio tramite il barbiton, la sua consacrazione iconografica nel vaso calatoide di Monaco del pittore di Brygos, con Saffo e Alceo. 18 Anche la lekythos che fu già sul mercato antiquario di Basilea, e raffigura un liricine che versa una spondè sull'altare, potrebbe entrare in questo quadro, se non venisse il forte sospetto che la figura, coronata di alloro, possa rappresentare lo stesso Apollo.¹⁹ Nella tradizione dei decenni precedenti era infatti frequente sulle lekythoi a fondo bianco la presenza di figure del mondo divino e del mito: Eracle e il leone nemeo, Achille ed Aiace che giocano a dadi, Menadi, Nikai, la stessa Atena, sono ricorrenze non insolite nella prima metà del secolo.²⁰ Una maggiore aderenza al nostro tema potrebbe eventualmente ravvisarsi nelle presenze di una Sirena liricine nella tradizionale tecnica a figure nere e, più ancora, nella scena di ratto di Titone da parte di Eos, sulla lekythos del pittore di Aischines.²¹ Titone tiene la lira, qui come in altre lekythoi che lo raffigurano isolato e in fuga: perché Titone è fanciullo in età di paideia e perché è una figura della musica. Nella sua vecchiaia fu trasformato in cicala. Ricordiamo dal Fedro di Platone quegli uomini che, sempre dediti al canto, dimenticavano di nutrirsi e non si accorgevano di morire, storditi dal loro canto, proprio come le cicale (*Phaidros*, 259 b-c).²²

Ma torniamo alle figure mortali. Del pittore di Atene 1736 è la *lekythos*, già in collezione Vlastòs: l'interno di un gineceo è indicato dal *diphros* su cui la fanciulla ha deposto il suo *himátion*, mentre protende la lira con la sinistra e stringe il plettro con la destra. Sotto il *diphros*, un uccello è simbolo pregnante della musica naturale, quindi presente nei notissimi esempi della *kylix* a fondo bianco di Apollo a Delfi e della *lekythos* delle Muse a Monaco.²³

Che il ricordo della vita del gineceo fosse rispecchiato nelle *lekythoi* è attestato anche dalla classe a figure rosse. L'esempio di una suonatrice di timpano è del Museo Nazionale di Atene, mentre a Copenhagen è attestata una suonatrice di cetra a culla; ma non mancano i casi di altre donne con lira e soprattutto con l'arpa e il timpano, gli strumenti finora assenti dalla classe a fondo bianco.²⁴ Al di qua dei confini della morte è anche il grazioso confronto di due fanciulle sulla *lekythos* del pittore di Timokrates dei Musei di Bruxelles.²⁵ A sinistra il suono disteso del doppio *aulòs*; a destra il silenzioso ascolto di una fanciulla che tiene non un'arpa naviforme di un tipo egizio, come dice il Paquette,²⁶ ma una semplice lira vista di scorcio. Il confronto di questo delicato momento musicale nell'atmosfera del gineceo si riflette anche negli opposti movimenti delle due figure (profilo e prospetto) e nel diverso colore delle loro vesti.

A distanza di circa un ventennio il pittore di Achille replica la stessa situazione nella *lekythos* di Oxford (*fig. 3*).²⁷ Vi è forse solo una distanza o variante di ruolo tra le due figure, perché qui, sotto lo specchio appeso alla parete, la suonatrice di *kithàra* a culla è seduta sul *klismòs* e sembra già avere la malinconica concentrazione o assenza di una defunta, mentre la

¹⁸ ARV² 385, 228; Simon 1981: 113 s., fig. 150.

¹⁹ Kurtz 1975: 87, 112 tav. 64,2.

²⁰ Kurtz 1975: 104 s., 122 (Atena); 97 tav. 59,4 (Achille e Aiace); 100 ss., tav. 58,1 (Nikai); 98 tav. 58,2 (Eracle e il leone).

²¹ Kurtz 1975: 31, 104 tav. 60,1 (Sirena liricine). Per Titone: ARV² 715, 189; Hamilton 1967: 98 n. 362.

²² Cfr. Barker 1984: 124 ss.

²³ *ARV*² 747, 24; Zapheiropoulos 1950–51: 156 fig. 5. Cfr. inoltre: Kōnstantinou 1970; *LIMC* s.v. *Apollon* n. 455; Simon 1981: tav. 44–5 (ivi altra bibl.).

²⁴ ARV 452, 4-5; 683, 128; 757, 79, 85; 1199, 21-4, 29, 30 (Copenhagen), 31 (Atene M.N.), 31 bis.

²⁵ ARV2 743,2; Add2 284; Buschor 1962: 53 fig. 42.

²⁶ Paquette 1984: 194 s. H3. Ma cfr. Maas and McIntosh Snyder 1989: 110.

²⁷ ARV² 1000, 195; Buschor 1962: 55 fig. 44; Maas and McIntosh Snyder 1989: 158 fig. 5.





2. Lekythos a fondo bianco (pittore di Bowdoin). Atene, Museo Nazionale, 1792. – Foto: Museo 3. Lekythos a fondo bianco (pittore di Achille). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 266. – Foto: Museo

fanciulla che le sta di fronte con la lira abbassata, tenta, col gesto della mano sinistra protesa, un dialogo, un accordo, forse un saluto. E così, ancora ad opera del pittore di Achille, in una *lekythos* del Museo di Bologna, il ricordo del gineceo, qui alluso dallo specchio, dal vaso alla parete e da un volatile domestico, si risolve in una pausa musicale tra la fanciulla suonatrice di una cetra a culla e una giovane signora che le rivolge il saluto.²⁸ Ma nella *lekythos* di Stoccolma, lo stesso pittore introduce nella musica del gineceo una timida ma indiscutibile allusione funebre:²⁹ la benda protesa dalla figura stante che, nella sapiente stringatezza del linguaggio classico, basta a proiettare la figura seduta nel regno dei morti ed è l'inizio di quella fantastica compresenza di vita e di morte, di quella ambiguità o irrealtà poetica di rapporti che costituisce il fascino imparagonabile delle *lekythoi*.

Questo rapporto si concreta in un pittore che è allievo del pittore di Achille. Nella *lekythos* quasi evanida dell'Antikenmuseum di Berlino 2450, il pittore della Phiale, sullo sfondo dell'offerta della benda funebre ad un giovane seduto che sta accordando una lira vista di scorcio, proietta ormai una stele.³⁰ L'ambiente è quindi la necropoli; la figura femminile stante rende

²⁸ ARV² 1000, 202; Pellegrini 1900: 62 tav. II; Fairbanks 1907, I: 223.

²⁹ ARV² 996, 135; Buschor 1962: 54 fig. 43; Lawergren 1984: 151 fig. 6.

³⁰ ARV2 1023, 141; Riezler 1914; tav. 48.

omaggio. Il giovane seduto è il defunto. Caratterizzato nel suo rapporto musicale, pone subito il problema del suo *status* e quindi della natura o significato di quel rapporto. Ma una risposta potrà venire non dal suo caso singolo, bensì dalla ricorrenza di questo rapporto, o di questa cifra iconografica in tutta la classe. Basterà per ora ricordare la sua tenera età e iniziare con lui il secondo gruppo di *lekythoi*, con due figure ai lati del monumento funerario.

Dispiace di possedere solo un frammento di una *lekythos* del pittore di Sabouroff, oggi ad Oxford, che ci priva del contesto generale a cui apparteneva la delicata figura di un giovane che protende la lira.³¹ Ma, nello stesso museo, una *lekythos* del pittore del Quadrato, ci presenta, sullo sfondo di una stele, un giovane elegantemente atteggiato con la lira abbassata, mentre riceve, da sinistra, gli omaggi di una donna che protende il canestro con le offerte funebri.³² Anche qui un defunto d'età giovanile che partecipa con la sua fresca vitalità alla scena. Dalla bottega dello stesso pittore proviene la *lekythos* di Atene M.N. 17.326 (*fig. 4*).³³ A sinistra della stele coronata dal timpano, una donna protende sul canestro una *plemmochoe* funeraria. A destra, un efebo tiene la lira, col capo reclino: è il defunto, ormai nel suo malinconico isolamento. Da una immaginaria parete alle spalle della stele pende il *phormiskos*, il sacchetto degli astragali, quasi a confermare l'età dei suoi giochi.

Ancora tre esempi di periodo postfidiaco. Il primo (Berlino, Musei F.2463) segue l'iconografia già nota: a sinistra della grande stele a timpano, un fanciullo con la destra al fianco, tocca con la sinistra le corde della sua lira, ma, più incuriosito, sembra guardare il rituale omaggio che gli viene reso dalla canefora a destra.³⁴ Il secondo (Louvre CA 612) replica lo stesso incontro presso la stele; ma è significativa la variante del giovane defunto seduto sul klismòs, mentre accorda la sua cetra, assorto e concentrato (fig. 5).35 Il klismòs, estraneo alla necropoli e al mondo della ombre, sembra sottolineare il vivo ricordo delle sue ore di studio o esercizio musicale. Ed infine, la lekythos di Atene M.N. 1811, che affianca alla stele una coppia di efebi; a destra, un giovane ammantato esibisce la lira al fianco; a sinistra, un coetaneo con chitone, clamide e petaso regge nella destra due lance.³⁶ Lo stesso incontro di guerriero e musico ritorna in una lekythos di New York.³⁷ Nessun gesto sembra indicare un omaggio alla tomba o al defunto. Resta quindi una sorta di ambiguità che non permette di distinguere i ruoli. Ma forse è una ambiguità voluta, per celebrare una triste sorte comune, nell'età giovanile della paideia musicale e dell'esercizio militare. Già a questo punto sembra di poter dire che nell'incontro cruciale presso la sepoltura ormai compiuta, segnata dal mnèma, il defunto, presente non come ombra ma come figura reale, riflette un momento fulgido della sua vita, la sua hèbe, tante volte rimpianta negli epigrammi tombali dedicati alle morti premature.³⁸ Quindi un malinconico sguardo al passato, non una proiezione nell'Aldilà.

Questa prospettiva è confermata dal terzo gruppo di *lekythoi*, nelle quali, presso la tomba, si verifica la presenza di tre figure. Come nel gruppo precedente, anche qui gli esemplari sono tutti compresi nell'ultimo periodo di fioritura delle *lekythoi* a fondo bianco, quindi durante la guerra del Peloponneso. Un esemplare che si collega agli ultimi del gruppo precedente è quello

³¹ ARV2 845, 165; Hamilton 1967: 98 nr. 364 tav. L.

³² ARV² 1239, 53.

³³ ARV2 1238, 34.

³⁴ ARV² 1244 a; Riezler 1914: tav. 88; Fairbanks 1914 II, tav. 22,3.

³⁵ ARV² 1168, 132; Riezler 1914; tav. 27; Fairbanks 1914 II: tav. 7,1; Lawergren 1984; 173 fig. 31; Paquette 1984; 136 Cb5.

³⁶ ARV2 1379, 54.

³⁷ ARV² 1238, 28; Fairbanks 1914 II: tav. 18,2.

³⁸ Cfr. Inscriptiones Graecae I² 946. Cfr., anche, Clairmont 1970: 33, 87, 140.



4. Lekythos a fondo bianco (bottega del pittore del Quadrato). Sviluppo grafico. Atene, Museo Nazionale, 17.326. – Foto da CVA Atene



5. Lekythos a fondo bianco (pittore di Monaco 2335). Paris, Louvre, CA 612. – Foto: Réunion des musées nationaux



6-8. Lekythos a fondo bianco (gruppo di Berlino 2459). Paris, Louvre, MNB 1729. - Foto: Réunion des musées nationaux

del Louvre MNB 1729 (*figg.* 6–8).³⁹ Anche qui appare infatti la coppia musico-guerriero. Ma è certo che il defunto va visto nella figura centrale del fanciullo che suona la lira, seduto sui gradoni del suo monumento; il suo *eidolon* aleggia presso il coronamento a palmetta della stele. L'anonimo pittore che appartiene al gruppo di Berlino 2459, quindi nell'area del pittore della Donna, ha distribuito attorno alla sua centralità simboli e presenze umane che ne precisano l'età e la *paideia*: l'amico (o fratello) oplita che esibisce graziosamente un uccellino, il padre (o pedagogo) appoggiato al bastone che protende affettuosa e protettiva la mano del saluto, e, alla parete, il *phormiskos* degli astragali, lo specchio, il bordo inferiore dello scudo da cui fuoriesce il fodero della spada.

Il pittore del Quadrato, nella equilibrata composizione a tre figure della *lekythos* Atene M.N. 1937, ormai largamente sbiadita, ripropone in parte, e con un discorso più essenziale, la stessa iconografia: la figura anziana è sostituita da una fanciulla offerente, mentre l'efebo seduto (il



9. Lekythos a fondo bianco (gruppo R). Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum. – Foto: Museo

defunto), con la lira abbassata in un momento di pausa musicale, è assorto in una malinconica concentrazione, sottolineata dal gesto della mano, sotto lo sguardo di simpatia del giovane guerriero appoggiato alle lance.⁴⁰

Più corsivo, anche se meglio conservato, è il tratto del pittore dell'Hypnos di New York nella *lekythos* di Atene M.N. 1950.⁴¹ Sui gradoni del monumento, l'efebo suonatore di lira riceve gli omaggi rituali di due fanciulle: il canestro ricolmo di coroncine e le bende funerarie per l'addobbo della stele. La mano destra, avendo strappato l'ultima nota, si apre in una pausa che si ripercuote nella silenziosa malinconia dello sguardo. È una sintesi che, negli stessi termini

⁴⁰ *ARV*² 1239, 59; *Add*² 352; Riezler 1914; tav. 73; *CVA* Atene I: tav. 14, 2–3; Isler-Kerenyi 1985; 125, tav. 11 e 19. 41 *ARV*² 1242, 12; *CVA* Atene I: tav. 11, 1–3; Riezler 1914; tav. 61.

compositivi (due fanciulle offerenti ai lati della stele), diventa lirica, densa di emozioni nelle linee manieristiche della *lekythos* di Vienna K.H. IV 143 (*fig. 9*). Attribuita al pittore del gruppo del Canneto, essa recepisce le modulazioni delle linee di Parrasio, ma soprattutto l'atmosfera di una mesta concentrazione musicale. Anche qui, la mano destra, abbandonata, allude al silenzio di una pausa.⁴²

E infine, la *lekythos* di Atene M.N. 1762 (capostipite di un gruppo omonimo al seguito del pittore del Quadrato) presenta un giovanetto, un *pais*, con la lira, stante presso la sua stele; è accompagnato alle spalle da un anziano che protende sul suo capo una fiaccola, mentre a destra una fanciulla offre un canestro di corone. Nel campo, oltre all'*eidolon* in volo, pendono lo specchio e un *phormískos* di astragali ad evidenziare, se ce ne fosse bisogno, il mondo fanciullesco del defunto.⁴³

Segue, per ultimo, un gruppo di esemplari che si estende lungo tutto l'arco di sviluppo della classe. Già in qualche raro esemplare di *lekythoi* a figure nere era comparsa, isolatamente, la lira appesa ad una parete.⁴⁴ Ma nelle *lekythoi* a fondo bianco è solo nell'esemplare di Atene M.N. 1982, attribuito al pittore della Megera (quindi al 460 circa) che incontriamo per la prima volta una lira appesa a lato di una stele, sopra un *diphros* che regge un canestro di offerte rituali. Le stesse offerte sono presentate da una canefora, a sinistra. La lira doveva caratterizzare il mondo della figura di destra, quasi completamente scomparsa.⁴⁵

Di poco posteriore, ma più nitida ed essenziale, è la *lekythos* 3262 dell'Antikenmuseum di Berlino, attribuita al pittore di Sabouroff (*figg. 10–1*). ⁴⁶ Su un altare o *trapeza*, ai piedi della quale si allineano tipiche offerte funerarie (*lekythoi*, una piccola *oinochoe*, una pisside), sono esposti un *barbiton* e uno di quei cofanetti che si vedono di frequente offerti alle donne defunte nelle stele funerarie classiche: quanto basta per caratterizzare la tomba come femminile. A sinistra il gesto di omaggio di un efebo; a destra, il gesto di saluto di una *peplophoros* in partenza, forse la defunta. Rivedendo la *lekythos* del pittore di Bowdoin (*fig. 2*), non è difficile intendere il senso commemorativo e caratterizzante del *barbiton*, anche se isolato dalle mani della defunta. Forse l'isolamento sottolinea ancora di più l'impegno musicale come un ricordo, un passato, una *aretè* da celebrare.

Ancora più complessa e simbolica è la scena che appare sulla *lekythos* 8080 del Museo di Boston, uscita dalla bottega del pittore di Thanatos (*figg. 12–4*).⁴⁷ Sull'asse del vaso, una singolare struttura monumentale è conclusa da una sorta di timpano, coronato da palmetta e decorato da uno scontro di pugilato a figure nere. Sulle volute laterali, gli acroteri sono *anathèmata*: statue di atleti con l'*akontion* e lo strigile. Alla immaginaria parete è appeso, a sinistra, un disco con la *triskéle*, a destra una lira. Se lo spazio è quello della necropoli e la struttura è un altare o un sarcofago, i richiami atletici possono suggerire, almeno in parte, le gare del *pentathlon* e integrarsi con lo strumento musicale in una celebrazione della ideale formazione della Efebia attica. Tradizione atletica e *paideia*, quindi, al centro della tradizionale visita alla tomba, espressa, a sinistra, dalla realistica presenza di un curioso passante inginocchiato ad ammirare l'impegnativo *mnèma* funerario e, a destra, dalla muta presenza dell'efebo defunto, chiuso nel suo ampio mantello.

⁴² ARV² 1383,1; Add² 371 (altra bibl.); Riezler 1914: tav. 28.

⁴³ ARV² 1241, 1; Riezler 1914: tav. 66; Fairbanks 1914 II: tav. 9, 1.

⁴⁴ Per le figure rosse cfr. Hoffmann-Erbrecht 1987: passim.

⁴⁵ ARV² 751,1; forse una lira appesa anche nel framm. ARV² 752, 9.

⁴⁶ ARV² 845, 168; Add² 296; Fairbanks 1907 I: 187; Riezler 1914: 100 tav. 20; Kurtz 1975: tav. 28,2; Rupp 1980: tav. 64 fig. 5; Brümmer 1985: 157 fig. 39a.

⁴⁷ ARV² 1231; Add² 352; Fairbanks 1907 I: 188 tav. 6; Kurtz 1975: tav. 31,1; Rupp 1980: tav. 64 fig.1.



10. Lekythos a fondo bianco (pittore di Sabouroff). Berlin, Antikenmuseum, 3262. – Foto: Museo



11. Lekythos a fondo bianco (pittore di Sabouroff). Sviluppo grafico di W. Riezler. – Foto da Riezler 1914: tav. 20

Più sciolta e ormai nei termini del manierismo è la grande scena che appare sulla *lekythos* n. 1957 del Museo Nazionale di Atene, ancora del pittore del Quadrato (fig. 15).48 Al centro una stele funeraria e, davanti ad essa, una fanciulla si svela aprendo il suo mantello; a destra, una offerente protende nel canestro una plemmochoe e un grappolo d'uva; a sinistra, seduto sullo sfondo del suo tymbos a profilo curvilineo, un efebo, bello come l'Apollo del fregio partenonico, sta in muto colloquio con una lepre, dominante nel paesaggio montano. I colori hanno perso, oggi, la vivacità che è stata registrata al tempo della scoperta, nel 1892, ad Eretria. Nello sviluppo si coglie anche la complessità dell'impianto spaziale su diversi piani: in primo piano le figure, poi la stele; dietro a questa, un grande canestro con frutta e con una lira deposta (attributo del giovane) e, sullo sfondo, il tymbos ovoidale sormontato da un frutto. Si può comprendere, anche, che qui i defunti sono due: la fanciulla proiettata sulla stele e l'efebo proiettato sul tymbos. Alla fanciulla è destinato il canestro con il grappolo d'uva, lo stesso dono di dolcezza che vediamo espresso monumentalmente al centro di una nota scena funeraria del pittore di Sabouroff.49 All'efebo è dedicato il grande canestro con la lira che ne caratterizza la dimensione culturale. Ma questa qualifica si estende ulteriormente all'intenso legame con la lepre che distoglie lo sguardo del giovane dal centro della scena. Non è, io credo, una allusione erotica; la sua presenza in un essenziale paesaggio montuoso, ci richiama una ben nota scena di caccia davanti ad una stele funeraria che qualifica il defunto, secondo una linea socio-culturale ben definibile,

⁴⁸ ARV² 1239, 56; Weisshaeuptl 1893–5; tav. II; Riezler 1914; 134 tav. 78; CVA Atene I: 11,7; 13, 4–6.

⁴⁹ ARV² 845, 169; Riezler 1914: tav. 22.





12–13. Lekythos a fondo bianco (pittore di Thanatos). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8080. – Foto: Museo

nel ruolo di cacciatore. ⁵⁰ L'efebo seduto è quindi celebrato, allo stesso tempo, nel ricordo della sua giovanile dedizione alla *paideia* musicale e all'esercizio aristocratico della caccia.

Lo strumento musicale come *pàrergon* simbolico, allusivo alla vita del defunto, si ripropone ancora altre volte, ora sotto forma di offerta, come in una malconservata *lekythos* di Londra il cui disegno è stato maldestramente rilevato, come dichiara la forma "classicistica" della lira deposta tra i vasi funerari al piede del *tymbos*, ora deposta ai piedi della stele, in un'altra *lekythos* dello stesso Museo Britannico, opera del pittore del Quadrato.⁵¹ Qui, ancora una volta, il defunto

⁵⁰ ARV- 690,2; Kurtz 1975: 121 tav. 14, 2. Sul problema generale cfr., ora, Schnapp 1988: 151–61.

⁵¹ Murray and Smith 1896: D 56 tav. XIII e, inoltre, ARV2 1238, 35. Alle *lekythoi* considerate nella presente rassegna vanno aggiunte, per completezza documentaria, ancora le seguenti: Atene, Coll. Canellopoulos 50; Berlino,

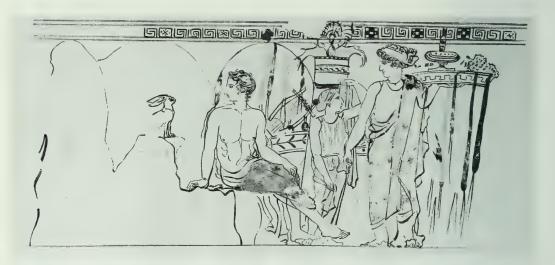


14. Lekythos a fondo bianco (pittore di Thanatos). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8080. - Foto: Museo

a sinistra si caratterizza per la sua tenera età, le allusioni lusorie dell'uccellino sulla mano sinistra, e la presenza del *phormiskos* degli astragali e di un *volumen*, appesi di fianco alla stele.

Potremmo considerare conclusa, a questo punto, la nostra rassegna delle diverse tipologie entro le quali si articola il nesso musica e morte nelle *lekythoi* funerarie attiche. Ma prima di passare ad alcune considerazioni conclusive, non possiamo eludere un caso isolato (e per questo problematico) che rappresenta forse un momento di sublimazione del nostro problema. La *lekythos* di Monaco, opera suprema del pittore di Achille, con due figure femminili, una stante a

Musei, F.2458; Havana, Lagunillas (ARV^2 995, 124); Heidelberg Coll. Hoffmann (Hoffmann-Erbrecht 1987); Heidelberg (ARV^2 757,77); Houston (ARV^2 847, 205); Kiel (ARV^2 1232, 4); Maplewood, Noble (ARV^2 749, 103); Oxford (ARV^2 846, 182); Parigi Louvre (ARV^2 1372, 15); Parigi Petit Palais (CVA France 15: tav. 34, 1–3).



15. Lekythos a fondo bianco (pittore del Quadrato). Sviluppo grafico. Atene, Museo Nazionale, 1957. – Foto da *Archaiologikè Ephemeris* 1894: tav. II

sinistra, una seduta a destra su una roccia, assorta nel suono della sua cetra a culla e accompagnata ai suoi piedi dalla timida ma indicativa presenza di un uccello, non dovrebbe lasciare grande spazio alle incertezze (fig. 16).52 Sulla roccia è scritto il nome dell'Elicona; quindi le due figure sono Muse. Il problema sorge allorché ci si domanda il perché di questa rara scelta di un tema che nelle lekythoi a fondo bianco di periodo classico esula dalla costante tematica funeraria. Le proposte interpretative sono diverse, a partire da quella del Buschor che vi ha voluto vedere una sorta di assimilazione della fanciulla attica defunta, al cui corredo il vaso apparteneva, alla stessa Musa. In tal caso la *lekythos* di Monaco rappresenterebbe il momento di maggiore intensità e di più vivo peso ideologico nel nostro discorso. Credo, tuttavia, che il tema vada trattato con gli altri rari casi di presenze mitologiche nella classe. Abbiamo già incontrato il caso di Titone. Esiste anche il caso di Demetra e Kore, di Danae e quello di Akrisios e Perseo con sottili riferimenti funerari.⁵³ Questo ci invita a pensare più che alla possibilità di una assimilazione, ad una volontà allegorica che manterrebbe alla scena della lekythos di Monaco tutto il suo valore mitologico, ma nello stesso tempo una sua valenza di allusione funeraria. Nell'ideologia funeraria della polis ateniese di periodo classico non si celebrano, quindi, le Muse dell'Aldilà, le ammaliatrici Sirene che portano alla morte, ma le Muse dell'Elicona, ispiratrici di canti di vita, simbolo dell'educazione musicale che è educazione etico-politica. Il Delatte, nel suo saggio "La Musique au tombeau dans l'Antiquité" del 1913, e il Wegner, nel suo "Musikleben der Griechen" del 1949, hanno sostenuto che il messaggio iconografico delle lekythoi è un preciso riferimento alla musica nell'Aldilà: il defunto sarebbe ormai proiettato al di là della barriera della morte, mentre consola la sua mesta solitudine con la lira che risuona tra le sue mani, o giace presso il suo monumento, come simbolo o anàthema dei sopravvissuti (Delatte 1913: 331; Wegner 1949: 99-102). Ma questo non è coerente con la sottile ambivalenza poetica e ideologica delle lekythoi, nelle quali esiste, sì, il richiamo allo status di morte con la rappresentazione della stele e

⁵² ARV² 997, 155; Para 438; Add² 312; Buschor 1962: figg. 23–5; Simon 1981: tav. 44–5; Paquette 1984: 139 Cb10; Lawergren 1984: 151 fig. 7; Maas and McIntosh Snyder 1989: 158 fig. 7.

⁵³ LIMC s.v. Demeter nr. 222; Kurtz 1975; 46 s., tav. 37, 1; 47 tav. 37, 2.



16. Lekythos a fondo bianco (pittore di Achille). Monaco di Baviera, Antikensammlung, Schoen, 80. – Foto: M. Hirmer

delle offerte, ma esiste altresì una presentazione retrospettiva del defunto, ricordato nello *status* tipico della sua vita, come le connotazioni della sua classe d'età e del suo ruolo socio-politico.

Le scene musicali delle *lekythoi* vanno quindi lette nella coerenza e in sintonia con gli altri modi di rappresentazione del defunto, ora come guerriero nel momento tipico e tradizionale del suo addio, ora in quello della sua azione militare, ora come cavaliere, ora come atleta o cacciatore. Per le donne ricorre invece, assieme al richiamo musicale, il ricordo della bellezza, della virtù domestiche, spesso precisate dai simboli del *diphros* e del *kalathos* per la lavorazione della lana (Kurtz 1975: tav. 33, 1–3). In questo largo contesto di celebrazione dei ruoli sociopolitici, la caratterizzazione musicale sembra quindi rivolta più al passato che al futuro del defunto. E non è certo una caratterizzazione professionale, quanto piuttosto un vivo richiamo al mondo giovanile del defunto, spesso confermato dall'aggiunta di un *phormiskos*.

Sul piano statistico ha una grande importanza rilevare la generale presenza di strumenti che sono tipici del mondo della *paideia* come la lira e la cetra a culla, o del gineceo, come il *barbiton*: strumenti che, come abbiamo visto agli inizi, sono banditi dal rito funerario. Non sono mai presenti gli strumenti della professionalità musicale antica, come la grande *kithàra* e gli *aulòi*.

È anche importante sottolineare come le quattro classi tipologiche da noi individuate si distribuiscano nel tempo. Le più antiche (tra il 460 e il 450) non hanno ancora un esplicito riferimento a simboli funerari. Sono memorie di vita. È il pittore di Achille, autore di ben cinque esemplari, che segna un ancor timido passaggio alle scene a due e tre figure che si sviluppano, ormai, presso la tomba e che, nella quasi generalità, sono databili negli ultimi trent'anni del V secolo. Le scene con la presenza dello strumento isolato (simbolo o *anàthema*) si distribuiscono lungo tutto l'arco della loro fortuna, tra il pittore di Sabouroff, autore di ben quattro esemplari, e il pittore del Quadrato che, col suo *entourage*, ha prodotto il maggior numero di *lekythoi* a tema musicale.

Ma il dato che invita più insistentemente alla riflessione è la fortuna del fenomeno nel momento pericleo e nel trentennio della guerra del Peloponneso con la sua stretta connessione con il mondo dei paides e degli efebi. Sappiamo che una tendenza antica (che sopravvive nel Medioevo) collega strettamente la musica con la gioventù, come ha largamente dimostrato il Bandmann nel suo "Melancholie und Musik" del 1960. Ma il fenomeno da noi esplorato va inquadrato in un preciso momento storico. Il giovane musico è un implicito richiamo al mondo della sua paideia che si connette, come s'è visto, con quello dell'atletica, della caccia e dell'esercizio militare. La musica era la componente fondamentale dell'educazione del cittadino ateniese, per i suoi nessi imprescindibili con la poesia e con la danza. Era, per così dire, l'essenza stessa di quella cultura. La musica aveva un esito immediato sull'èthos del giovane, agiva come fattore determinante di sophrosvne, del dominio morale sul proprio essere. Creava, come dice Platone nel Protagora (325, 326 a-b), l'eurythmia e l'harmonia dell'anima. Così come la danza e l'atletica contribuivano all'armonico sviluppo del corpo, la musica portava al sereno dominio dell'anima. Sono concetti che Platone ribadisce nelle Leggi (VII 673 a) e nella Repubblica (III 398–403). Ma Platone è posteriore al fiorire dei nostri documenti, che in questo senso verrebbero — tuttavia — ad allinearsi con le celebrazioni di sophrosyne e di aretè che sono ricorrenti negli epigrammi funerari, in particolare nel ricordo di coloro che hanno prematuramente perduto la loro giovinezza.

Credo, quindi, che la fortuna iconografica del tema musicale nelle *lekythoi* attiche a fondo bianco possa essere illuminata e motivata dalla incisiva presenza nell'Atene di Pericle e di Socrate della figura di Damone, che fu loro maestro e consigliere nel campo della teoria musicale.⁵⁴ Damone veniva da una tradizione pitagorica, ma è noto soprattutto per aver illustrato gli intimi legami esistenti tra la musica e i sentimenti, tra il mondo dei suoni e quello dei pensieri e degli affetti e quindi per aver sostenuto l'imprescindibile necessità e importanza della musica per l'educazione, per la *paideia*. Nessun cittadino ateniese poteva essere *apáideutos*, estraneo al mondo dei suoni e della danza, perché i ritmi e le *harmoniai* hanno una incidenza etica e quindi politica, perché la musica porta all'*aretè* e alla *sophrosyne*. Ed è per questo che Platone scriverà nella sua Repubblica (IV 424 b): οὐδαμοῦ γὰο κινοῦνται μουσικῆς τρόποι ἄνευ πολιτικῶν νόμων τῶν μεγίστων· ὧς φησί τε Δάμων καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Plat. Laches, 180 c-d, 197 d, 22 a; Res publica, 440 b-c; 424 c. Su Damone cfr. recentemente Barker 1984: 168 ss.; Barker 1989: 457, 467.

^{55 &}quot;Non si introducono mai cambiamenti nei modi della musica senza che se ne introducano nelle leggi più importanti dello Stato; cosí afferma Damone e ne sono convinto anch'io".

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The salpinx as an instrument of Eros and Dionysus

Gullög C. Nordquist

A red-figure lekythos by Douris in Vienna depicts Eros kneeling and blowing a trumpet, *salpinx* (see *fig. 1*). Behind him hangs a sword in its scabbard. This Attic vase comes from Gela in Sicily and can be dated to *ca.* 480 B.C. Eros is here portayed as a beautiful young man. His wings are raised up and behind him in a vigorous curve and he is crouching with one knee close to the ground and the other raised towards the chest. One hand holds the long trumpet and the other is on his hip.

There is a striking difference between this elegant and virile young man and the more familiar Eros iconography: the sweet childish son of Aphrodite, playing with his toys and bow. But when he first appears in the Homeric epics, Eros is a force without distinct substance, who enfolds humans and veils their wits (*Iliad III.442*); he controls or enchants.² Sophokles in *Antigone* (781) describes Eros as *anikatos machan*, resistless in fight, who holds even the gods captive.³ Almost as a philosophical idea Eros appears in Hesiod's *Theogony* (116–20):⁴

Verily at the first Chaos came to be, but next wide-bosomed Earth [...] and Eros (Love), fairest among the deathless gods, who unnerves the limbs and overcomes the mind and wise counsels of all gods and all men ...

Together with the Earth, $G\bar{e}$, and the underworld, *Tartaros*, Hesiod's Eros was born out of Chaos, and is the driving and creative force in the further development of the universe. This cosmogenic Eros was later developed further by the Orphics (Furtwängler 1884–90: 1344–6).

In the later mythology Eros, Love, was the son of Aphrodite, and twin brother to Himeros, Desire. The two brothers are found in scenes of the birth of Aphrodite, for example on the base of Pheidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia. The same motive appears on a red-figured pyxis in New York.⁵ The twin gods are depicted in the arms of their mother on an Attic black-figured pinax from the Acropolis.⁶ With the third brother, Pothos, who represents the yearning for an absent or dead lover, they join in flying over the sea as a pendant to the tempting and death-bringing sirens on a vase in London⁷ (Vermeule 1979: 203, fig. 26).

Not many sanctuaries to Eros are known. Eros and Himeros received joint dedications (Vermeule 1979:154) and Pausanias (1.43.6) mentions a statue group of Eros, Himeros and Pothos by Skopas in Megara (Stewart 1977: 109; Bulle 1941: 140). The nonanthropomorphic

- 1 Red-figure lekythos in the Vienna University Collection, inv. no. 562a. CVA, Wien 1, pl. 13:2–3; LIMC, s.v. Eros no. 664; ARV² 447, 272.
- 2 Cf. enchantment, thelxis, wakes the sleepers, Iliad XXIV.343, Odyssey XXIV.5.
- 3 Cf. the Homeric Hymn to Hermes 434.
- 4 Hesiod, *Theogony* 1964. See comments by West to *Theogony* 116–21.
- 5 New York, Metropolitan Museum, Fletcher Fund 1939; Pinsent 1969: fig. p. 22.
- 6 Athens, National Museum, Acr. 2526; Graef & Langlotz 1925–33: pl. 104; Vermeule 1979: 152, fig. 5.
- 7 Red-figure stamnos by the Siren Painter, London, British Museum, E 440; ARV² 117.1; CVA, London British Museum 1, pl. 20,1; cf. Greifenhagen 1957; 26f., fig. 25.



1. Attic red-figure lekythos by Douris. Vienna, University Collection, inv. 562a. – Photo after Greifenhagen 1957: fig. 49



2. South Italian terracotta pinax. – Photo after Furtwängler 1884–90: fig. to cols. 1351–2

character of the god is seen in the aniconic cult of Eros as a rough stone in Thespiai in Boeotia mentioned by Pausanias (9.27.1).8 In the iconography Eros as the force or expression of love is personified, for example, on an early classical pinax from southern Italy as a small winged figure holding a *lyra* (*fig.* 2). He is standing on the arm of Aphrodite, the arm she stretches out to Hermes, who is the object of her love. The same function of the Eros figure can be seen also, for example, on a white-ground lekythos (Vermeule 1979: 178, fig. 29); Eros is standing on the hand of the dead man, as an expression of his love for the ones left behind.

In these earlier depictions of the god he is usually a beautiful and athletic young man, the embodiment of the ideal ephebe. There is nothing of the innocent angelic child. Eros is rather the dark and shameless love of Ibycus (*Greek Lyric* III: 255 no. 286), who comes like the North wind aflame with lightning and shakes the soul. He is also a predator, the hunter who drives his victim into the net (*ibidem* III: 257 no. 287). The victims of Eros the hunter are deer or hares in the vase paintings.⁹ Or humans: on an Attic red-figure aryballos from *ca.* 480, also by Douris and found in the Royal Stables on Stadiou Street; in which two Erotes (or perhaps Eros and Himeros), one armed with a whip, are attacking a young man.¹⁰ His arrows are poisoned, and may be used against both gods and men. When Apollo laughs at Eros playing with his pretty arrows, he shoots him with a golden arrow and inflames him with love for Daphne, who at the same time is shot with a leaden arrow, which frightens her away from love and eventually brings about her metamorphosis into a tree.

From the fifth century onwards Eros even occasionally appropriates the role of Zeus. The daring and brilliant Alcibiades had as a shield device Eros picked out in gold, wielding the lightning rod of Zeus. This caused a scandal at the time, but the theme appears in the pictorial art afterwards. But it should be noted that in the same period Eros is not only sometimes multiplied, as on the pyxis with the two fighting Erotes (*fig. 3*), but also transformed into the innocent boy child, playing with his toys or his bow and arrow, or with the tools of the mighty Heracles. The final stage in this development is the Roman Cupid, depicted, for example, as a series of amusing and picturesque putti in Pompeian fresco-painting in the first century A.D. 14

That Eros is shown holding or playing a musical instrument is not unusual. Music and games of love belonged to the symposia and are found in scenes of love-making in general, but both were also parts of magic (Vermeule 1979: 156, Lissarague 1990: 80–6). Usually the instrument of Eros is the *lyra* (*fig.* 2) and sometimes the *kithara*, appropriate to his role as a god of young men and male love (Furtwängler 1884–90: 1343; 1929: 28f.). A musical education belonged to all cultivated free Greek men and the lyre was the principal teaching instrument. The instruments are often used in the scenes with young men carousing in symposia and taking part in the komastic dances and processions before and after the symposia. The *lyra* and *kithara* are also shown in the vase paintings as a love gift between men. (Maas and Snyder 1989: 87–9).

⁸ See Nilsson 1955: 202, 525; Furtwängler 1884–90: 1340–4.

⁹ For Eros as hunter or fisherman, see *LIMC s.v.* Eros nos. 730–47; e.g. a black-figure Hydra hydria in Tübingen University, S./16.4836; *LIMC s.v.* Eros no. 730.

¹⁰ Athens, National Museum, 15375; Philippaki n.d.: fig. 37.

¹¹ The story is told by Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 16.1. According to Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* 36.28, Skopas made an Eros sculpture, which was later moved to Rome, in the likeness of Alcibiades, Stewart 1977: 105, app. 1, no. 39. In a fragment (3) by Pherekydes from Samos (in Diels & Kranz 1964: 48), Zeus even transforms himself into Eros. Cf. also Furtwängler 1884–90: 1345.

¹² See for example LIMC s.v. Eros, nos. 945–7.

¹³ Attic red-figure pyxis, ARV² 1133/196.

¹⁴ For example in the Casa dei Vettei: cupids decorating a table, as jewellers, making perfume or weaving, *LIMC* s.v. Eros/Amor, Cupido nos. 533, 536, 538, 545.



3. Attic red-figure pyxis. Martin v. Wagner Museum, Würzburg, L541. – Photo: Museum

But Eros can play many instruments (Furtwängler 1929: 30f.). We find him blowing the *auloi* or playing a lyre in the company of Dionysos and his entourage (*fig. 4*).¹⁵ He attends women playing the *lyra*,¹⁶ the harp¹⁷ or the *auloi*,¹⁸ as well as percussion instruments such as the *tympanon*¹⁹ or cymbals.²⁰ Eros sometimes appears as lyricist or aulete in the rites of Aphrodite or Adonis.²¹ Other instruments he plays vary from the *phorminx* or great concert *kithara*²² to the simple shepherd's panpipes²³ and even the triangle²⁴ or the sliding rattle, sometimes called "xylophone". On a bronze-handle in Basel (*fig. 5*)²⁵ the relief depicts Eros holding both a *lyra* and a trumpet.

- 15 Attic red-figure krater by the Retorted Painter, ARV² 1490/13.
- 16 E.g. on a hydria in London by the Hephaistos painter: Eros with his lyre in front of an aulitria, British Museum, E 191; ARV² 1119; LIMC s.v. Eros no. 690. For Eros playing the lyra or barbiton in general, see Maas and Snyder 1989: 85, 92, 117f., 178.
- 17 Jena, old inv. 390; see Hahland 1976: pl. 22c; Metzger 1951: 53 no. 33; Maas and Snyder 1989: 181f.; cf. also the gemstone *LIMC s.v.* Eros no. 671b.
- 18 E.g. on a hydria in Athens, Kerameikos Museum, 4589; *LIMC s.v.* Eros 691, or on a Boeotian krater in New Haven, Yale University, Stoddart collection, 1913.130; *LIMC s.v.* Eros 695.
- 19 E.g. on a lekythos in New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1924.97.35, dated to 430–420, *LIMC s.v.* Eros no. 692; or on a clay relief in Paris, Louvre, CA 158, from Boeotia; *LIMC s.v.* Eros no. 688.
- 20 E.g. on a hydria from Nola in Madrid, Museo Arqeológico Nacional, 11132; ARV² 1412/51; LIMC s.v. Eros no. 693; also Paquette 1984: 212 P14.
- 21 For example, see LIMC s.v. Adonis, 45-9; Detienne 1972; cf. Maas and Snyder 1989: 172-6, passim.
- 22 See for example a terracotta figurine in New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1917.230.46 from Taranto, dated to the 4th to 3rd century B.C.; *LIMC s.v.* Eros 676; Maas and Snyder 1989: 141, 176f.
- 23 For example a terracotta figurine from Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, 9758; *LIMC s.v.* Eros 689. In general, for the *syrinx* played by erotes, see Haas 1985: 74, pls. 77, 84–91, 96 and pp. 104–7.
- 24 E.g. on a South Italian red-figured cup from Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1901–8118; LIMC s.v. Eros no. 666.
- 25 Antikenmuseum, 1943/198; LIMC s.v. Eros 664. Dated to first century A.D.



4. Attic red-figure krater. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 919 V 13.21. – Photo: Museum





- 5. Bronze handle. Basel, Antikenmuseum, 1943/198. Photo: Museum
- 6. Attic black-figure plate by Psiax. London, British Museum, inv. B 591. Photo: Museum

The *salpinx* Eros is playing on our lekythos was in ancient Greece basically a military instrument, used to signal advance or retreat for both infantry and cavalry, 26 and it is also occasionally found in naval scenes (Paquette 1984: 78f. T8). *Salpinktes*, trumpet-players, belonged to the staff of the generals. In civil life they signalled the meeting of the *ekklesia*, the general meeting of the citizens, and they gave alarm to the city when danger threatened. The trumpeter, "the public rooster of Athens", 28 belonged to the *pyloroi*, who were the gatekeepers of the Acropolis, and also served Apollo Aigyeus (Geagan 1967: 125–7, 177). As a military instrument the *salpinx* is found on the vase paintings in the hands of soldiers and amazons (*fig.* 6), 29 as well as of Nike, the goddess of victory. On our vase Eros with his soldier's trumpet and his sword can be interpreted as the victorious attacker, the winning soldier, who according to Anacreon (413P.) "smashes you with a bronze axe for the *coup de grâce*", and whose arrows bring even the mightiest down.

But the *salpinx* also appears in the cult. It was mainly associated with Dionysos. Trumpets belonged to his processions (Frickenhaus 1912: 65f., Rice 1983, Lehnsteadt 1970). The man following the ship cart in the procession on a black-figured cup in Bologna³⁰ was thought by Frickenhaus (1912: 61) to be a *salpinktes* (*fig.* 7). Trumpeters also appear in the running contest

²⁶ Xenophon, *On the Cavalry Commander* 3.12, *On the Art of Horsemanship* 9.11; Michaelides 1978: 294f.; Wegner 1949: 60f. For a modern discussion of the *salpinx* in Greek warfare, see Krenz 1991. For illustrations, see Paquette 1984: 76–83.

²⁷ Demosthenes, De Corona 169.1. See also Krenz 1991.

²⁸ Demodos cited by Athenaios in *Deipnosophistae* 3.99.

²⁹ Attic black-figure plate by Psiax, London, British Museum, inv. B 591; ABV 294/20.

³⁰ Black-figure skyphos by the Theseus Painter, Bologna, Museo Civico, inv. 130.



7. Attic black-figure skyphos. – Photo after Frickenhaus 1912: Beilage 1:III

between satyrs on a vase in Berlin (fig. 8),31 or the mock chariot contest between satyrs and meanads with a trumpet-blowing meanad on a cup by Nikosthenes.³² Trumpets signalled the start of the Choai, the drinking contest during the Anthesteria festival,³³ and trumpets were used to signal the acts in the theatre. We hear in the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise on acoustics, On Things Heard (803a), of soft trumpet melodies as appropriate for the komasts. On a bilingual eye cup by Epiktetos in the British Museum (fig. 9) a satyr armed with a shield and an oinochoe blows a trumpet, and in the tondo is a man on a horse holding two javelins.³⁴ This trumpetblowing satyr can be either a mocking comparison between the human, bloody wars and the satyrs' attack on the blood-red wine (Lissarague 1990: 70-4), or an allusion to a darker side of Dionysos, who, like Eros, was a mystical and dangerous force. Taken in moderation, wine is good for humans and the human community, for it induces cheerfulness and communal feelings, enables man to fulfil his potential and inspires him to great art, especially in drama and music. Communal wine drinking at male symposia was considered a useful and necessary part of Greek life.35 But taken in excess, used either wrongly or carelessly, wine and the cathartic Dionysian rites become orgiastic, dangerous dark forces, leading to madness and violence (Lissarague 1990: 3-14). Dionysos is joined by a large entourage of satyrs, sileni and maenads, who, as nonhumans, are free to enjoy every excess that would destroy a human. The iconography of the Dionysiac entourage abounds in scenes at or beyond the frontiers of civilised life.

³¹ Attic red-figure oinochoe by the Altamura Painter, *ca.* 465–460. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenmuseum, inv. 1962.33; *ARV*² 1660.

³² Red-figure kylix in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ricketts and Shannon Collection, inv. 32.17, dated to *ca.* 510; *ARV*² 133/4; *CVA* Cambridge 2, pl. VI, no. 1a (= Great Britain 515); Lissarague 1990: fig. 57b.

³³ Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 100. For trumpets signalling dinner among the Macedonians, cf. Athenaios, *Deipnosophistae* 4.130b. A komast is blowing a horn on one side (an amazon with a trumpet on the other) of a red-figure kylix by the Scheurleer Painter in the Louvre, G 70; *ARV*² 169.6; Lissarague 1990: 70-4.

³⁴ Attic red-figure kylix by Epiktetos, London, British Museum, inv. E 3; ARV² 70/3; Boardman 1975: fig. 66.1, 2; Lissaraque 1990: 70–6, 115–7; Paquette 1984: 77f. T7 (detail).

³⁵ The symposia have attracted much interest during the last few years; see for example Lissarague 1990 and Murray 1990.



8. Attic red-figure oinochoe. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung, inv. 1962.33. – Photo: Museum, J. Tietz-Glagow

Eros belonged closely also to this Dionysiac and orgiastic sphere (Furtwängler 1929: 25f.; Metzger 1951: 56–8). Eros as Love personified was a very real part of symposia, along with other sensual (and intellectual) feelings and experiences. The beautiful and admired young male with his older and wiser protective lover and patron are depicted on many vase paintings, and their relationship is discussed, idealised and intellectualised almost into a philosophical theory. Erotic scenes are common in symposium iconography (Lissarague 1990: 56f., 80–6, 106), in which, not coincidentally, Eros often appears together with Dionysos or his companions (*figs. 4*, 7 and 8).

Both these dangerous gods, givers of enjoyment, pleasure and creativity, but also potentially deadly forces, have a chthonic aspect as well, *i.e.* are related to death and the underworld. Eros early on is found with the *caduceus*, the wand of Hermes Psychopompos, the god who leads the souls of the dead to the river Styx and the land of the dead. Both Eros and Himeros were also, in visual art and literature, connected and contrasted with Hypnos, Sleep, and Thanatos, Death (Vermeule 1979: 157–62), and Eros appears also, as does Thanatos, with the down-turned torch in scenes connected with death and burial.

Dionysos too has this connection with the underworld. In the mysteries of Dionysos at Lerna in the Argolid, the god entered the underworld through the Lernan lake. In nightly ceremonies a sheep was thrown into the Alkydian lake and Dionysos was called forth from it by the sound of trumpets hidden in *thyrsoi* (the Bacchic wands).³⁶ It may be remembered that trumpets were also used in the processions to the heroes' tomb at Plateia.³⁷

The trumpet can function in this connection as a divider or as an audible border marker. As it divides a theatre performance into acts, it signals the border between world and underworld, between normal civilised life and the arrival of Dionysos and his procession of orgiastic companions, between orderly sobriety and the drinking contest during Dionysos' festival, the Anthesteria. Against this background Eros the trumpeter can also be seen as the invincible Eros, the powerful god on the border line between creation and destruction, who may bring a man either to highest enjoyment or to deepest despair. "The dice of Eros are madness and battle-noise" according to Anacreon (fragment 47). As a primary force he is as dangerous as he is necessary.

³⁶ Pausanias 2.37.5, Plutarch, Isis and Osiris 364 F, Table-Talk IV 6,671 E; Deubner 1932: 96 n. 4.

³⁷ Plutarch, Aristides 21; cf. Nilsson 1916: 312.

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Observations on domestic music making in vase paintings of the fifth century B.C.

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It is well known that myth, history, and religion are closely related in antiquity. The representations of mythical scenes, especially in classical art, contain an important number of elements of everyday life. In several musical scenes significant details from contemporary life relating to the performance of music are incorporated in subjects inspired by the mythical tradition. A number of features in this mythological iconography appear to be directly derived from contemporary musical practice and seem to have been chosen in order to render the mythological scenes more vivid and lifelike. Therefore, their addition to the traditional iconography of the myth indicates that we can trust their realistic values within the depictions of contemporary life. A close examination of these pictures can lead to a better understanding of musical performance and musical education in this period. We shall select two particular details for this purpose, the bookroll and the presence of the *aulos*.

1. The bookroll

In classical art there are two mythical heroes who are very much involved in the performance of music: Marsyas and Thamyris.

Thamyris, who according to Apollodorus (I. III. 3) excelled in beauty and in singing, engaged in a musical contest with the Muses. He was defeated and so the Muses punished him by depriving him both of his eyesight and of his voice. Most illustrations of the Thamyris contest in the fifth century were probably related to dramatic performances based on this myth.¹

On a red-figure lekythos in Basel (*figs. 1 and 2*) from the Meidias workshop (420–410 B.C.) Thamyris is depicted seated and tuning his *lyra* between two Muses:² Kleo sits behind him holding a *lyra* and Erato stands facing him with a bookroll in her left hand. This means that she has already finished reading her text³ or, more probably, that she has just finished singing to the accompaniment of the *lyra* and is waiting for Thamyris to begin his own performance. By making his *lyra* larger than that of the Muse, the painter may have alluded to the story that Thamyris had invented a new type of *lyra*⁴ or, symbolically, a new type of music. Through the bookroll, literary education is also exalted alongside musical training, both representing the

On Thamyris' myth and its representations, see Roscher vol. 5, 1916–24: 464–81: Wegner 1949: 45–6, 206: Otto 1961: 47–9; Immerwahr 1964: 32–3, 35; Immerwahr 1973: 146; Weiler 1974: 66–72, especially n. 118 with bibliography; Froning 1971: 75–86; Trendall-Webster 1971: 69–71: Pöhlmann 1976: 59–62: Raeck 1981: 87–8; Marcadé 1982: 223–9; Maas and McIntosh-Snyder 1989: 5–6, 59, 80, 82, 83, 121, 140, 145, 152, 153, 201, 229, 231, 239, 240; Oakley 1990: 20–2 n. 109 with further bibliography.

² Schefold 1960: 74, figs. 287–8; Immerwahr 1964: 32 no. 31; Beck 1975; pl. 75, 370; Pöhlmann 1976: 61 no. 31; CVA, Basel 3, pl. 35, 4–6; Maas and McIntosh-Snyder 1989: 145; Oakley 1990: 21, n. 112.

On the meaning of this motif, i.e. the book held in the right or in the left hand, see Voutiras 1989: 335-60.

⁴ Wegner 1949: 45–6; Schefold 1960: 74; Immerwahr 1964: 35; Pöhlmann 1976: 61; Maas and McIntosh-Snyder 1989: 82.



1–2. Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, Inv. BS 462: red-figure lekythos. – Photo: Museum



3. Athens, National Museum, 1241: red-figure pyxis. - Photo: Museum

complete form of classical *paideia* (for a slightly different view, see Pöhlmann 1976: 60–2). The ideal is very well illustrated on a funerary relief of the last quarter of the fifth century in Munich, where a youth playing the *lyra* is shown seated before a boy reciting or singing from a roll.⁵

The same pair of Muses, one with a *lyra* and one with a bookroll, is depicted in a more complete illustration of the Thamyris myth by the vase painter Polion on a volute krater in Ferrara (420):6 on the lower right there is a Muse standing with a *lyra*; near her sits a Muse holding an open roll and looking back in the direction of Thamyris. This duet of Muses, one playing the *lyra* and the other reciting or singing, is a common feature in scenes where the Muses appear as a group, either by themselves or accompanied by Apollo. An example is found on a pyxis from about 430 in the Athenian National Museum (*fig. 3*) with Apollo and eight Muses depicted on Mount Helicon. A Muse is seated on a rock tuning her *lyra*; near her stands a companion holding in a low position an open roll on which writing is indicated by white dots; she is looking back to the seated Muse probably waiting for the cue to begin.

A similar scene is represented on a red-figure Apulian hydria from Palermo (*fig. 4*), dating from the middle of the fourth century, this time with the Thamyris myth.⁸ Thamyris, in Thracian costume, is seated in the center holding a large *lyra* in his right hand. He looks intently toward a Muse on the right, who shows him an open bookroll that apparently has been removed from the chest which stands with open lid between them.⁹ To the left is another Muse, who has just finished playing her *lyra* (which is smaller than that of Thamyris). The roll shown by the Muse to Thamyris may contain both text and musical notation (Immerwahr 1973: 146).

Pöhlmann originally held the view that the books depicted in connection with the performance of music contained musical notation (1960: 83–4). Immerwahr is more cautious about this point; although he does not rule out the possibility of musical notation, he leaves the matter open, since none of these pictures offers any indication of musical notation (1964: 46. *idem* 1973: 147). Pöhlmann, in a subsequent study, modifies his view and argues that the depiction of these books symbolises music in a broader sense: music as $\mu \hat{\epsilon} \lambda o \zeta$, $\hat{\rho} \nu \theta \mu \hat{\delta} \zeta$, and $\lambda \hat{\delta} \gamma o \zeta$ (1976: 60–2). Admittedly, especially in the case of documents like the Apulian hydria discussed here or the Attic hydria to be discussed (*fig.* 5), it is possible to suppose that these books contain in fact both text and musical notation.

I assume that the scene on fig. 4 shows the moment in the contest between Thamyris and the Muses when the Muses have finished singing and playing and Thamyris is about to start. However he is not just going to play his instrument; he will accompany a singing Muse. The contest here is not a musical one, but has been transferred to a higher cultural level, that of an idealized musical performance of Apollonian poetry.¹⁰

- 5 Schefold 1958: 69–74; Wegner 1961: 92, 93 fig. 59; Immerwahr 1964: 36; Berger 1970: 148–9 fig. 161, n. 382; Beck 1975: pl. 23, 122; Pöhlmann 1976: 57, n. 28.
- 6 ARV² 1171, Î; Add² 338–9; Immerwahr 1964; 32 no. 30; Froning 1971; 81–4; Pöhlmann 1976; 61 no. 30; Alfieri 1979; 80–2 figs. 182–5; Berti and Restani 1988; 60, 61; Maas and McIntosh-Snyder 1989; 145, fig. 11b; Oakley 1990; 21, n. 115.
- 7 Athens, Nat. Mus. 1241. Birt 1907: 9, 142, fig. 79; Turner 1952 and 1954: 14; CVA, Athens, Mus. Nat. III Id pl. 18; Pöhlmann 1960: 83e; idem 1976: 58, no. 23; Immerwahr 1964: 29, no. 23. Cf. a similar scene on a red-figure lekythos in Syracuse, Museo Archeologico 20542: ARV 624.75 (The Villa Giulia painter): Beck 1975: pl. 74, 369.
- 8 Immerwahr 1973: 146–7, no. 32 bis, pl. 33,2; Beck 1975: pl. 74, 367; Pöhlmann 1976: 61, no. 32 bis; Oakley 1990: 21, n. 111.
- 9 Such chests are frequently seen in association with bookrolls and were used to store them. Immerwahr 1964: 37: *idem* 1973: 47; Pöhlmann 1976: 57, 59; Brümmer 1985: 103–4, figs. 29a–d and 21c.
- 10 Pöhlmann 1976: 58–9 with a slightly different interpretation of the depicted moment. See also Pöhlmann 1988: 24, no. 34 pl. XXIV.



4. Palermo, Banco di Sicilia, 385: Apulian hydria. - Photo after Immerwahr 1973: pl. 33,2

A similar situation is depicted in a domestic scene of women's daily life on a hydria in a private collection in Switzerland (*fig. 5*) from about 450.¹¹ In the center a woman frontally seated on a two-stepped podium holds a *barbiton* in her left arm, while two fingers of her right hand are touching the keys of the instrument. She looks toward the open bookroll, shown to her by the woman standing to the left; the roll has obviously been removed from the chest (with open lid) on the base near the seated woman.

It is very probable that the standing woman is showing to her companion the beginning of the poetical text they are going to perform together. To the right stands a girl holding a *lyra* in her right hand and with a chest of bookrolls on her left, apparently waiting her turn. The door and the pillar on the left suggest the interior of a building. On the wall hangs another *lyra*. The podium base might be an indication of an organized performance, perhaps a lyric contest in a private school.

If this interpretation is correct, we can understand in a similar way the context of a scene on a bell krater (*fig.* 6) from the circle of the Kleophon painter (from Nocera, about 450), in which women musicians are represented: the scene shows the women preparing for their musical performance. To the left a standing woman simply holds the *lyra* with both hands and seems to communicate through her eyes with the frontally seated woman holding a *lyra* in her left and looking backwards to the other. Towards her advances a third woman holding in front of her an

¹¹ Bérard 1984: 129, fig. 124. According to the reference in the English translation of this book (*A City of Images*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, 174, fig. 124) the hydria is in a private collection in Lausanne.

¹² Metzler 1987: 73–7, figs. 4–5. Cf. the similar scene on the hydria in Kerameikos at Athens (no. 8070): Pöhlmann 1976: 58, n. 32, pl. 2.



5. Switzerland, private collection: red-figure hydria. – Photo: D. Widmer, Basel



6. Nocera, Museum (withouth inv. no.): red-figure bell krater. — Photo: Museum.

open roll, which she will apparently show to her seated companion. The scene is framed on the right by another standing woman, wrapped in a long *himation* (mantle) and carrying in her left hand a *lyra*. On the wall, tablets (*diptychon pinakion*) are hanging. The Eros kneeling near the seated woman indicates perhaps the kind of poetry that is about to be performed.

An analogous scene decorates a hydria by the Peleus painter (*fig.* 7) from about 430;¹³ in the center a woman is sitting and playing the *barbiton* and perhaps at the same time singing with her half opened mouth. On the right a frontally standing companion holds the chest containing the texts. She seems about to open it and to remove a roll.¹⁴ To the right appears a girl carrying a *lyra*, to the left stands another woman holding high the back overfold of her garment. On the wall hangs a wreath.

On a red-figure hydria of the group of the Polygnotos painter, recalling the Hector painter (from about 440–430) the poet Sappho is shown seated holding an open volume, surrounded by

¹³ Athens, Nat. Mus. 17918. Karousos and Karousou 1981: 79, 81, no. 82; Maas and McIntosh-Snyder 1989: 121, 137, fig. 18.

¹⁴ Another example of a chest containing books appears on a red-figure hydria in the late manner of the Niobid painter (from about 440 B.C., London, Brit. Mus. E 190): Near the seated woman reading stands a companion with the chest containing books. See *ARV*² 611,36; Immerwahr 1964: 25, no. 14, fig. 5; Pöhlmann 1976: 72, no. 14; *CVA*, London, Brit. Mus. III Ic pl. 86, 3; Beck 1975: pl. 69, 351; Keuls 1985: 105, fig. 90. About the chests see also above n. 9.



7. Athens, National Museum, 17918: red-figure hydria. – Photo: Museum

her friends Nicopolis and Kallis (both identified by inscriptions), and another person. 15 According to the inscribed text on the roll: "Θεοί, ἢερίων ἐπέων ἄρχομαι" (Gods, I start with sacred words), Sappho will start reading an epic or elegiac poem. On the left behind her, Nicopolis, her companion, is not holding a wreath over the reader's head, as was thought by other scholars (Immerwahr 1964: 26) (rather, the wreath is hanging on the wall), but seems to be waving towards the two other companions standing opposite, the first of whom is carrying a *lyra* (one can see that she is not about to start playing, because her left arm is covered by a long mantle). The instrument here perhaps symbolizes idealized music, as the book with the text symbolizes idealized literature, both executed by women.

It is well known that the increasing number of bookroll representations on the vase paintings of this period, as well as stories of books, the book trade, etc., reflect the development of

¹⁵ Athens, Nat. Mus. 1260. ARV² 1060, 145; Add² 323; Beazley 1948: 339, no. 6; Turner 1952 and 1954: 14; Immerwahr 1964: 26, no. 18, fig. 2; Pöhlmann 1976: 57, no. 18; Beck 1975: pl. 74, 366; Paquette 1984: 168–9, L40 (part).



8. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 3231; Apulian pelike. – Photo: Museum

Athenian education, which by this time was accessible to a larger part of the population. Aristophanes (Nub. 963–4) describes the children marching through the streets in orderly procession, without their cloaks, to the music-master's house, though it is snowing as thick as meal (Marrou 1977: 97, 98, 100).

As Immerwahr points out, the schooling of women in fifth-century Athens is a rather obscure subject, since we have no direct evidence for girls' schools or training in music, singing, and writing. In Euripides' Medea (1085–6) there is an allusion to the relation of women to literature: "ἀλλὰ γάρ ἔστιν μοῦσα καὶ ἡμῖν, / ἡ προσομιλεῖ σοφίας ἕνεκεν". 17

However the vases offer an insight into this aspect of women's lives, in which they appear to engage in more refined occupations, such as poetry and music. The pairing of bookroll and *lyra* as it appears in pictures of activities of the Muses or in the agon of Thamyris, tends to represent the daily practice of the time as it is known from the domestic scenes with women's music making. This reflects a growing interest among women in music, poetry, and literature in the second half of the fifth century B.C.

Admittedly, in the depiction of the other myth about a musical contest, that of Marsyas and Apollo to be discussed below, instrument and bookroll also appear together. An example is the early Apulian pelike in Naples from about 420 (*fig.* 8).¹⁸ Apollo is here shown in the center of the scene playing the *lyra*, and below him sits the dejected Marsyas. On his left, a Muse stands on a footstool looking at the open bookroll held in her hands "inside out"; three columns of dots indicate writing.¹⁹ Since Marsyas lost the contest, the scene has been interpreted as the Muse reading aloud the judgement to him. This is contradicted by the fact that the god has not

¹⁶ Marrou 19776: 90; Immerwahr 1964: 36; Pöhlmann 1976: 54–5.

^{17 &}quot;But we too have a goddess to help us / And accompany us into wisdom". English translation of *Medea* by Rex Warner in *The Complete Greek Tragedies, III: Euripides* (David Grene & Richmond Lattimore, eds.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959. See also Immerwahr 1964: 27–8; Beck 1964: 85–8.

¹⁸ Naples, Mus. Naz. 3231 (81392). Bieber 1917: 54, fig. 27; Wegner 1961: 112, 113, fig. 71–2; Immerwahr 1964: 32, no. 29 n. 2 (with bibliography); Pöhlmann, 1976: 60, no. 29; Trendall and Cambitoglou 1978–82, vol. 1: 401, no. 29.

¹⁹ Concerning the position of the book Pöhlmann thinks that it is held so that the person opposite can read it. But it seems more probable that this is simply a way to indicate that the book contains writing.



9. Paris, Louvre, G 516: red-figure bell krater. - Photo: Museum

yet finished playing his part. I would rather connect the Muse with Apollo and assume that the roll contains a poetic text to be sung to Apollo's accompaniment.²⁰

This allows us to interpret in a similar way the depiction of the Apollo and Marsyas contest on two vases by the Pothos painter (from about 420-10). In the center of the scene appearing on a bell krater in the Louvre, G 516 (fig. 9), Marsvas is seated on a rock holding the auloi in his left hand and looking towards Apollo (with lyra) who stands near him.²¹ On the right of the picture a Muse brings a chest, obviously with rolls. On the left, another Muse with lyra offers a closed roll to a companion leaning against a rock; she is about to take the roll and sing from it to the accompaniment of Marsyas' auloi. And that is exactly what she does in the dramatic moment depicted on another contemporary bell krater (Louvre, G 490), also by the Pothos painter (fig. 10).²² Here too, Marsyas is seated in the center on a rock, and plays the auloi while Apollo is watching. On the left, the Muse seems to sing from an open roll, accompanied by Marsyas' aulos playing. On the right another Muse is carrying a lyra.

It is true that aulos and bookroll are rarely paired. One of the exceptions is found in a school scene in the well-known fragments of an early red-figure cup by Onesimos (from about 480). On the left a bearded man plays his auloi. In the center a seated youth holds an open roll on which stoichedon and boustrophedon can be read and "Στεσιγόο/ον ὕιινον / ἄιγοισαι", a text referring to choral lyric poetry.²³ Similarly on the volute krater by the Sisyphus painter in Munich²⁴ (from the early fourth century) showing nine women or Muses — their identification is not alway clear in pictures of this kind²⁵ — we have on the left the pairing of aulos-music

²⁰ About different opinions, see Immerwahr 1964: 32, n. 3. Cf. also Pöhlmann 1976: 61.

²¹ ARV2 1189,20; Para 461: Immerwahr 1964: 31, no. 28, fig. 11; Beck 1975: pl. 75, 373; Pöhlmann 1976: 60, no. 28; Queyrel 1984; 124, fig. 4, p. 125 no. 4, p. 127, 137, fig. 24, p. 145. 22 ARV² 1190,21; Para 461; Immerwahr 1964; 31, no. 27, fig. 12; Beck 1975; pl. 75, 371; Pöhlmann 1976; 60, no.

^{27;} Queyrel 1984; 124 fig. 3 (A), 125, no. 3, 145.

²³ Oxford G 138, 3,5,11, ARV 2326,93; Beazley 1948; 338, no. 3; Immerwahr 1964; 19–20 no. 2, fig. 1; Beck 1975; pl. 23, 119; Pöhlmann 1976: 57, 72, no. 2.

²⁴ Munich 3268. Wegner 1949; pl. 22; Richter 1959 and 19602; 349, fig. 466; Trendall 1974; 48, pl. 19, 20; Beck 1975: pl. 82, 396; Pöhlmann 1976: 59, no. 33.

²⁵ Queyrel 1988: 90-102.



10. Paris, Louvre, G 490: red-figure bell krater. – Photo: Museum

and singing from a roll, while the three women in the center carry stringed instruments without playing them.²⁶

Thus even in the Marsyas myth, under the influence of spreading literary education in Athenian society, we can see that by the second half of the fifth century the singing of lyric poetry plays an important role. New realistic elements have penetrated and enriched the two myths of Thamyris and Marsyas, which contain in their revised versions not only instrumental performances but vocal-instrumental combinations as well.

²⁶ Cf. an *aulos* playing Muse and a companion holding an open diptychon (tablets) on an Attic red-figure hydria in Berlin, no. 2388, from about 450. On the same picture appears also the common pairing of *lyra* and bookroll, both carried by Muses: Beazley 1948: 339, no. 5. Immerwahr 1964: 28–9, no. 20; Pöhlmann 1976: 58, 73, no. 20.

2. Aulos-music in vase paintings of the second half of the fifth century

As has been mentioned, the other mythical contest of music popular in classical vase painting is that of Marsyas:

Marsyas having found the pipes which Athena had thrown away because they disfigured her face [she is said to have seen her puffed and swollen cheeks reflected in water], engaged in a musical contest with Apollo. They agreed that the victor should work his will on the vanquished, and when the trial took place Apollo turned his *lyra* upside down and bade Marsyas to do the same. But Marsyas could not, so Apollo was judged the victor and dispatched Marsyas by hanging him on a tall pine tree and stripping off his skin. (Apollodorus, I.IV, 2)²⁷

The myth alludes to the much discussed quarrel over the merits of the *aulos* versus the lyre (*kithara* or *lyra*). The quarrel between old and new music (represented by the *aulos* and the lyre respectively), in which the latter prevails, was very popular in the iconography of the vases of the second half of the fifth century.²⁸ Another possible explanation for the popularity of this Apollo and Marsyas episode in the middle of the fifth century is that it reflects the enmity between Athens and Boeotia at this time. According to this interpretation the scene represents symbolically the victory of the Athenian *lyra* over the Boeotian *aulos*.²⁹ Apparently, the old traditional music of *auloi* gradually went out of favor to the advantage of the more refined music of lyres (*lyra*, *kithara*, *barbiton*). In addition, stringed instruments permitted simultaneous singing, which seems to have been regarded as the height of elegance in musical performance at that period. This development is also apparent in a version of the myth of the contest between Apollo and Marsyas, known only from vase-paintings from the last thirty years of the fifth century, where Marsyas is shown playing the *lyra* instead of *auloi*.³⁰

The Pothos painter seems to have been aware of this variation as he has depicted this version in a red-figure bell krater in Heidelberg (*fig. 11*): here Marsyas facing the standing Apollo is playing (or is about to play) a *lyra*.³¹ On the left a Muse holds open tablets, presumably giving them to another Muse leaning against the rock. On the right is a third Muse.

Similarly on another representation of Marsyas' contest on a late fifth–century volute krater, once on the Paris market, a *lyra* is depicted near the *aulos*-playing Marsyas.³²

These representations have been interpreted in various ways. Boardman claimed that they depend on a literary source, because they differ in typology despite their common subject (cf. note 30). He supposes that the source is the play *Marsyas* by the dithyrambic poet Melanippides of Melos, written before the middle of the fifth century. However the vase paintings were made quite a bit later than the play.

- 27 Apollodorus. The Library. translated by James George Frazer. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press. 1956. About Marsyas, see Roscher II 2, 1894–97: 2439–59; Vogel 1964: 34–56; Weiler 1974: 37–59, especially n. 2 with bibliography.
- 28 About the Marsyas iconography, see Boardman 1956: 18–20: Clairmont 1957: 161–78: Immerwahr 1964: 31–2: Schauenburg 1968: 42–66 (here also about the famous group of Myron, with bibliography); Pöhlmann 1976: 59–60; Queyrel 1984: 144–7.
- 29 Boardman 1956: 19, n. 17; Schauenburg 1968: 56-7.
- 30 Boardman 1956: 19; Clairmont 1957: 163-4; Schauenburg 1968: 57, n. 112, 113; Pöhlmann 1976: 60; Queyrel: 145-6.
- 31 Heidelberg 208. *ARV*² 1189,19; *Para* 461; Kraiker 1931; 54, no. 208, pl. 41; Immerwahr 1964; 31, no. 28a; Beck 1975; pl. 73, 364 (part of A); Pöhlmann 1976; 60, no. 28a; Queyrel 1984; 126, fig. 6, 127 no. 6, 137 fig. 23, 145–6.
- 32 ARV² 1165,74; Reinach 1899: II 312, no. 1; Tillyard 1923: pl. 19.122; Schauenburg 1968: 57, note 112. Cf. the same scene on a contemporary Attic bell krater which appeared on the New York market: Sotheby's Antiquities. New York, 10 July, 1990, 176 no. 511.



11. Heidelberg, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Archäologisches Institut, 208: red-figure bell krater. – Photo: Museum



12. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, PU 271: red-figure cup (cf. fig. 15). – Photo after CVA, Bologna, Museo Civico, III I pl. 118

In any case, in the late fifth century, *aulos* playing gradually went out of style and eventually disappeared from musical education. The young Alcibiades was the first who despite the request of his uncle Pericles refused to play *auloi*. According to Plutarch (Alc.II):

Alcibiades argued that the *lyra* blended its tones with the voice or song of his master; whereas the aulos closed and barricaded the mouth, robbing its master both of voice and speech. "Auloi, then" he said, "for the sons of Thebes; they know not how to converse. But we Athenians, as our fathers say, have Athene for foundress and Apollo for patron, one of whom cast the aulos away in disgust, and the other flayed the presumptuous aulos-player" [i.e. Marsyas]. Thus half in jest and half in earnest, Alcibiades emancipated himself from this discipline, and the rest of the boys as well. For word soon made its way to them that Alcibiades loathed the art of *aulos*-playing and scoffed at its disciples, and rightly, too. Wherefore the *aulos* was dropped entirely from the program of a liberal education and was altogether despised.³³

According to Aristotle (Pol. E. Y, 6) the *aulos* is not an instrument for the expression of ethical character, but rather for orgiastic rites, probably because learning to play on *auloi* trained the hand rather than the mind. The shift can also be traced in dramatic literature: Sophocles praises *auloi* (Ant. 965) as instrument beloved of the Muses, Aristophanes claims that the Muses preferred stringed instruments (Wegner 1949: 12).

Most of all, *aulos*-music was not appropriate or delicate enough for the exercises and the entertainment of women in a domestic setting. Thus in the tondo of an Attic cup from the end of the fifth century by the Louvre G 456 painter (*fig. 12*), a seated woman with extended hands chooses the *barbiton* rather than the *auloi* offered to her by the young woman standing in front of her.³⁴

However *aulos* music appears in a specific group of representations of domestic scenes closely connected with scenes of Apollo and Muses from the second half of the fifth century. Here *auloi* and *lyra* are paired, the former played by the Muses, the latter by Apollo (cf. Wegner 1949: 121–2). In these scenes it should be observed that these two instruments are never played simultaneously. We close our essay by giving a few relevant examples of this practice.

- (1) On a kalyx krater from Rome in Schwerin (*fig. 13*), from the middle of the fifth century by the Villa Giulia painter, Apollo sits on a rock in the center and tunes his *lyra*.³⁵ On the right, a Muse hesitantly holds in her slightly extended right hand the *auloi*. Behind the god another Muse is carrying a *lyra*.
- (2) On the well-known Musaios amphora in London, a work by the Peleus painter (from about 440–430), *auloi*, *kithara*, harp, and *lyra* are represented; however only the harp is played, while the *aulos*-player seems to be preparing herself for her performance.³⁶
- (3) On a bell krater by the Danae painter from about 440–30 in Vienna (*fig. 14*), the seated Muse in the center plays the *auloi* faced by the standing Apollo. Behind her a standing Muse tunes her *lyra*.³⁷
- 33 Plutarch's Lives, English translation by Bernadotte Perrin, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press and London, William Heinemann, 1959. (I have replaced Perrin's term "flute" throughout with "aulos/auloi"). See also Marrou 1977: 259.
- 34 Bologna, Museo Civico PU 271. ARV² 825,19; Add² 294; CVA. Bologna, Museo Civico V. III. I pl. 118, 119; Paquette 1984: 170–1 (A).
- 35 Schwerin 706 (1261). ARV² 618,6; Add² 270; CVA, Schwerin pl. 35–7.
- 36 London, Brit. Mus. E 271. ARV² 1039.13; Para 443; Add² 319; Wegner 1949; pl. 19; Wegner 1963; 46–7, pl. 22; Beck 1975; pl. 83, 405; Paquette 1984; 10–11, fig. lb.
- 37 Vienna 697. ARV² 1075,11; Add² 326; CVA, Wien (3) III. 1 pl. 115. 1–3; Beck 1975; pl. 82, 398; Paquette 1984: 168–9 L42 (part).



13. Schwerin, Staatliches Museum, 706 (1261): red-figure kalyx krater. – Photo: Museum

- (4) The same musical moment is depicted on the outside of the cup discussed above (*fig. 12*) from Vulci in Bologna, where female musicians are represented in pairs. One of them consists of a sitting *aulos*-player and a standing woman tuning her *lyra* (*fig. 15*).³⁸
- (5) On a somewhat earlier pelike (from about 450) in the Louvre (*fig. 16*) by the Polygnotos Group,³⁹ the *aulos*-playing woman on the left has just finished, while the seated one is tuning the keys of her *barbiton*. Before her a standing woman, without instrument, lifts her right hand, a gesture perhaps indicating that she is about to begin singing.

³⁸ For the cup in Bologna (Museo Civico PU 271), cf. note 34. A similar scene on a white lekythos in Brussels (A 1020): ARV^2 743,2; Paquette 1984: 194–5 H3 (detail); Maas and McIntosh-Snyder 1989: 110, fig. 23. The same pairing of instruments on a pelike in Leningrad, 732 (St. 1676): ARV^2 857,1; Para 516 (The Trophy Painter); Reinach 1899: I, 55,13; Beck 1975: pl. 83, 400. Cf. also another example by Stackelberg 1837: pl. XIX = Sittl 1890: 86 (wrongly cited as pl. XVIII,1).

³⁹ Louvre G 543. ARV² 1059,131; CVA, Louvre 8 d pl. 42, 10 and 43, 2.3; Devambez 1962: I, 123.



14. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 697: red-figure bell krater. – Photo after CVA, Wien, (3) III 1 pl. 115



15. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, PU 271: red-figure cup (cf. fig. 12). – Photo after CVA, Bologna, Museo Civico, III, I pl. 119



16. Paris, Louvre, G 543: red-figure pelike. – Photo: Museum



17. London, British Museum, E 189: red-figure hydria from Rhodos. – Photo: Museum



18. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, 521: red-figure kalyx krater. – Photo: Museum

- (6) On a hydria in London from Rhodos (fig. 17), the seated woman in the center again tunes her *lyra*, while her companion standing behind her plays the *auloi*.⁴⁰ In front of her a (standing) woman is carrying a book-chest and a *lyra*. A small Eros flies toward the seated woman.
- (7) On a kalyx krater in Würzburg by the Christie painter from about 440-430 (fig. 18), the seated woman in the center plays the *barbiton*; below her is the open book-chest; opposite stands a woman carrying *auloi* and *kithara*. Here too, a small Eros flies toward the seated woman.⁴¹
- (8) We find the same scene on an Attic red-figure amphora by the Niobid painter from about 460.⁴² A woman (with a head band) sits on a diphros and plays the *barbiton*. She holds the instrument in her lap and the plectrum in her right hand. Before her stands a woman wearing a *stephane* with leaves and holding two *auloi* (one in each hand). Behind her another woman (also wearing *stephane* with leaves) opens a small book-chest. On the wall hangs a small *lyra*.

⁴⁰ London, Brit. Mus. E 189. ARV- 1060,147; CVA, London, Brit. Mus. III. Ic. pl. 86.1.

⁴¹ Würzburg 521. ARV 1046.7; Add 2320; Wegner 1949; pl. 20; Beck 1975; pl. 83, 404 (A); Simon 1975; pl. 44; CVA 2 pl. 19.5–11, 20.1–2; Paquette 1984; 128–9 (A); Keuls 1985; 126, fig. 110. Cf. also the hydria in Kerameikos 8070 at Athens, where a seated woman with barbiton is confronted by a small Eros playing auloi, while a woman holding an open book approaches the center: Pöhlmann 1976; 58 no. 16bis, pl. 2.

⁴² Atlantis Antiquities, Catalogue 1990, no. 7 (text by Robert E. Hecht, Jr.).

(9) Finally there is a scene on an Attic red-figure hydria (*fig. 19*; New York, market)⁴³ from about 440, where a seated woman in the center playing *barbiton* is faced by a woman who stands frontally holding an open roll. On the left side another woman approaches with *auloi* in her right hand; she seems to be waving with her extended left arm towards the two other women, perhaps encouraging them. A *lyra* hangs on the wall over the head of the seated woman. The scene reminds us of the kind of pictures already discussed in the first part — e.g. the one on the hydria of Peleus painter (*fig. 7*), and in particular the one showing Sappho and her friends (above p. 79, with n. 15; cf. also n. 41).

In the representations we have examined *lyra* and *auloi* are never played simultaneously. One of them is always silent. The two instruments must have been played successively or alternately. Perhaps the little Eros on some of these pictures is meant to indicate what the function of the performance is supposed to be.

The fact that this alternate playing of *aulos* and *lyra* appears also in the mythical sphere of Apollo and Muses, stresses the particular character of the musical scene. We have before us a special performance, the meaning of which might become more tangible after more research in the iconogaphy and literature of the time. Until then the specific occasion and exact mode of performance in these domestic settings among women remains to be determined.

⁴³ Sotheby's Antiquities, New York, 29 November, 1989, no. 115. The same vase appears in Hesperia Arts Auction Ltd., Antiquities, New York, Tuesday, 27 November, 1990, no. 125.



19. New York, Market: red-figure hydria. – Photo after Catalogue Sotheby's Antiquities, New York, 29 November 1989: no. 115

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Il sistro italico: strumento, attributo, oggetto di culto*

Lucia Lepore

L'oggetto a forma di piccola scala che compare nella ceramica apula a figure rosse (e in quella campana e pestana da questa influenzata) poco prima della metà del IV secolo a.C., per diventare diffusissimo nella seconda metà del medesimo (ad opera soprattutto del Pittore di Dario e della sua cerchia), ha richiamato l'attenzione degli studiosi fin dal '700, anche se è stato argomento di trattazioni più o meno specifiche solo a partire dagli anni '70 di questo nostro secolo.¹

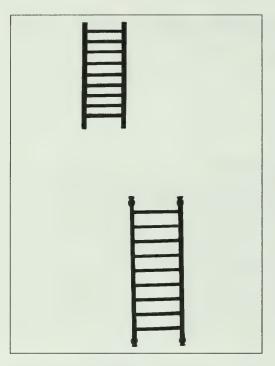
Nonostante i contributi più o meno ampi e le continue citazioni che di questo oggetto vengono fatte in relazione soprattutto al suo significato (circa l'identificazione quale strumento musicale non sembrano sussistere ormai più dubbi), molti aspetti risultano ancora poco chiari o solo brevemente accennati. Per questo ci siamo convinti a riprendere in esame alcune problematiche specifiche dell'oggetto in questione, riguardanti sia l'organologia, sia le accezioni o valenze iconografiche.²

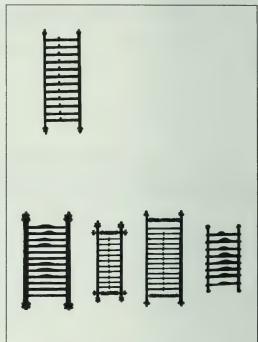
Relativamente al rinvenimento o riconoscimento di oggetti reali in qualche modo vicini tipologicamente e funzionalmente al nostro, non abbiamo nulla da aggiungere.³

Il riesame, invece, della documentazione figurata nella quale esso è rappresentato, che appare oggi molto più ampia e variegata, permette di distinguere innanzitutto due tipi con diverse varianti.

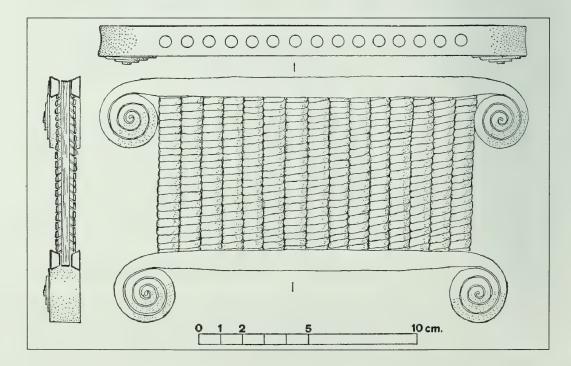
Il tipo A (fig. 1) presenta due versioni: la prima, con semplici montanti verticali uniti da una serie variabile di elementi orizzontali, simili fra loro e fissati ad intervalli regolari: la seconda, con montanti verticali modanati e desinenti comunemente in una sferetta con appendice troncoconica, talora arrotondata.

- * Il testo di questa comunicazione corrisponde sostanzialmente, con l'aggiunta delle note e qualche precisazione, alla relazione da me presentata in occasione del convegno organizzato, nell'ambito dell'International Council for Traditional Music, dal Gruppo di Studio di Iconografia Musicale a Salonicco il 21-25 maggio 1990, dal titolo "The Spirit of Greek Music in Ancient Art". Oltre i Proff, Luigi Beschi, Febo Guizzi, Margot Schmidt e mio marito, Giuliano de Marinis, vorrei ringraziare in modo particolare il Prof. Tilman Seebass, e ancora Maria Chiara Monaco, Grazia Ugolini, Giovanni Martellucci, Susanna Sarti, Stefano d'Ayala Valva.
- Ricordiamo l'ampio contributo di Schneider-Herrmann del 1976, indi quello fondamentale di Zancani Montuoro del 1977, che, con la pubblicazione del cd. calcofono di Francavilla Marittima, riesaminava il problema alla luce anche dei rinvenimenti archeologici dell'VIII secolo a.C., e indicava ipotesi e suggestioni ancora oggi valide. Seguiva nel 1977–78 un altro contributo di Schneider-Herrmann, quindi un breve, ma stimolante articolo di Keuls del 1979.
 - Al 1986 risale il contributo di Grey Nelson, limitato all'esame della ceramica dipinta nello stile di Gnathia, ma con amplia bibliografia. Abbiamo indicato soltanto i contributi specifici principali, cui si rimanda per una bibliografia più ampia ed esaustiva.
- 2 Tale riesame, proposto come esemplificazione metodologica nell'ambito dei seminari per laureandi, non sarebbe diventato un lavoro compiuto senza il costante, affettuoso incitamento di Luigi Beschi, che da qualche anno ha promosso, nell'Università di Firenze, la ripresa degli studi sull'iconografia musicale nel mondo antico.
- 3 I documenti restano sostanzialmente quelli dell'VIII secolo a.C., raccolti in Zancani Montuoro 1977: 27-34. Vedi comunque anche altri reperti da collezioni in Jentoft-Nilsen 1980: 247. Validi restano ancora i confronti con la pisside di Nimrud e le terrecotte ellenistiche discussi in Zancani Montuoro 1977: 34-40, ma anche parzialmente in Schneider-Herrmann 1976: 522-3.





- 1. Sistro italico. Esemplificazione grafica del tipo A. Disegno: Autore
- 2. Sistro italico. Esemplificazione grafica del tipo B. Disegno: Autore



3. Riproduzione grafica del calcofono tipo calabrese. – Foto da Zancani Montuoro 1977: fig. 8

Il tipo B (*fig.* 2) presenta le stesse versioni del tipo A, con l'aggiunta, tuttavia, di una serie di elementi apparentemente semisferici, o semicircolari lamellari, fissati al centro degli elementi orizzontali. A giudicare dalla resa di queste semisfere o lamelle potrebbe trattarsi di *tintinnabula* o lamelle cimbaliformi. Si possono considerare varianti di questo secondo tipo le forme con ponticello superiore e inferiore decorati da una serie continua di dischetti e quelle con ponticelli desinenti all'esterno in *molettes* tronco-coniche o trilobate. Poco attestata è la variante con tutti gli elementi orizzontali desinenti in *molettes* globulari all'esterno. La resa pittorica degli elementi orizzontali, a fasce o linee più o meno larghe, esclude che essi possano essere interpretati come corde.

L'oggetto, raramente reso a risparmio, è per lo più sovradipinto in bianco o giallo: tali colori (usati comunemente per una serie di oggetti come armi, statue, *naiskoi*, specchi, ventagli, ciste, *klinai* ecc.) non danno indicazioni utili per l'identificazione del materiale raffigurato nel nostro caso.

Il numero degli elementi orizzontali varia da nove a diciotto, con una media di dodici; essi, inoltre, hanno per lo più larghezza e spessore uguali, a parte qualche caso dove lo spessore sembra degradare (dall'alto verso il basso o viceversa), fatto questo, però, da imputare allo stato di conservazione del colore o ad una certa sciatteria del pittore, piuttosto che ad una reale diversità.

L'altezza massima dell'oggetto (calcolata su quella dei personaggi femminili per i quali abbiamo ipotizzato una media di m 1,60) varia da trenta a sessanta centimetri, attestandosi mediamente attorno ai cinquanta.

I due tipi compaiono pressoché contemporaneamente (forse qualche decennio prima il tipo A), e sono ugualmente diffusi (con una netta prevalenza all'inizio del tipo A, quindi del tipo B).

Nelle scene, invero non numerose, il cui contesto rende sicuro l'uso dell'oggetto come strumento musicale, compare solo il tipo A nelle due versioni (vedi oltre *fig. 5*). Queste traducono, a mio parere, pittoricamente (e quindi più schematicamente a distanza di oltre tre secoli) gli stessi tipi attestati nell'VIII secolo a.C., la cui sopravvivenza, secondo quanto aveva già intuito e dimostrato Paola Zancani Montuoro (1977: 38–40), continua nei centri indigeni fino all'ellenizzazione, allorquando i ceramografi apuli cominciano a raffigurarli per rispondere meglio alle tradizioni culturali di quelle classi agiate locali, che dovevano costituire i loro maggiori committenti.

Non sembrano, infatti, solo coincidenze — soprattutto se si confrontano i nostri disegni con la resa grafica degli strumenti dell'VIII secolo — le eleganti volute di questi ultimi (*fig. 3*) nel tipo che dall'area di maggior diffusione potremmo chiamare *calabrese*⁴ e le modanature della versione più ricercata del nostro tipo A.

Ugualmente le piastre (*fig. 4*) del tipo *lucano*, meno diffuso,⁵ richiamano i montanti della versione più semplice sempre del nostro primo tipo.

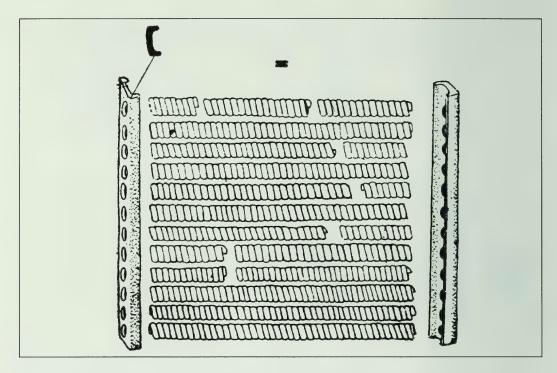
Anche il numero delle spirali presenta negli esemplari dell'VIII secolo una variabilità e una media (dodici) che corrisponde a quanto abbiamo osservato per i nostri elementi orizzontali.

Solo le dimensioni dello strumento più antico (altezza massima venti centimetri) sono minori rispetto a quelle che abbiamo ricavato per lo strumento classico.

Dalle considerazioni fatte sembra logico poter dedurre quindi che le nostre raffigurazioni riproducano uno strumento musicale, interamente o in larga parte di bronzo, costituito da due montanti fusi (oppure in legno a costituire con i ponticelli una sorta di intelaiatura) e da una serie di tubetti di lamina bronzea ripiegata, paralleli e uguali, liberi di muoversi e risuonare attorno ad un asse o anima centrale, probabilmente anch'essa metallica.

⁴ Cinque esemplari provenienti dal territorio di Sibari e quattro/sei dall'odierno territorio del comune di Tiriolo in Zancani Montuoro 1977: 29–30.

⁵ In tutto quattro esemplari provenienti dall'agro di Pisticci e Metaponto in Zancani Montuoro 1977: 31.



4. Riproduzione grafica del calcofono tipo lucano. - Foto da Zancani Montuoro 1977: fig. 10

Tali tubetti dovevano essere lisci nel tipo A, provvisti di sonagli ornamentali e sonori nel tipo B.

Relativamente al modo in cui lo strumento poteva essere suonato, possiamo trarre indicazioni sicure quasi esclusivamente dalla *lekythos* RE 55 di Essen (*fig. 5*). Attribuita al Pittore della Situla di Dublino,⁶ essa presenta, al centro, una donna seduta su un masso roccioso, che solleva con la mano sinistra il nostro strumento, retto per l'estremità inferiore, mentre con la destra sembra percuotere e sfregare, piuttosto che arpeggiare, la parte centrale dello stesso. Al suono essenzialmente ritmico prodotto dallo strumento si muove una danzatrice velata, che si esibisce in una danza dai più identificata con il *baukismos* di origine ionica ricordata da Polluce (Schneider-Herrmann 1977–78: 266, n. 12). A sinistra, un'altra donna, attratta dalla musica e con espressione altamente concentrata, avanza piano recando uno specchio e un grappolo d'uva (oggetti caratteristici del culto di Afrodite e Dioniso). Nella scena più intima e malinconica rappresentata sull'*hydria* di Villa Giulia 22593, la donna seduta entro il *naiskos* (la defunta) sembra anche lei percuotere e sfregare con la mano destra il nostro strumento, retto con la sinistra e appoggiato sulle ginocchia.⁷

Alla luce di queste ultime annotazioni, verificate peraltro sulla base dello strumento che abbiamo provato a ricostruire (fig. 6),8 ci sembra opportuno abbandonare il termine di xylopho-

⁶ Su questo vaso vedi in ultimo Froning 1982: 214–9, con bibliografia precedente.

⁷ Così anche Zancani Montuoro 1977: 35 n. 10. Presa in considerazione e più dubitativamente interpretata da Schneider-Herrmann 1976: 520–1, fig. 6.

⁸ Il merito di questa ricostruzione va tutto alla pazienza di Giuliano de Marinis, mio marito, che seguendo le mie indicazioni, ha voluto realizzare una delle tante, possibili versioni dello strumento. Data la scarsa reperibilità in



5. Lekythos. Essen, Museum Folkwang, RE 55. – Disegno: G. Ugolini

no a suo tempo attribuitogli da Wegner (1949: 66–7: 229) e convenzionalmente accettato dalla maggior parte degli studiosi, a favore di quello di *sistro italico*.⁹

Quanto al significato delle rappresentazioni nelle quali compare il nostro strumento, torniamo brevemente all'esame della *lekythos* di Essen. Apparentemente ci troviamo di fronte ad una scena di genere (musica e danza di donne all'aperto): non è escluso, tuttavia, che possa trattarsi di una citazione tratta da una raffigurazione più ampia, e riferirsi quindi ad un cerimoniale religioso in onore di Dioniso o Afrodite, come sembra pensare Schneider-Herrmann (1977–78: 266).

commercio di bronzo in lamina (quella di rame puro avrebbe prodotto un suono completamente differente), si è optato per l'ottone trafilato. I montanti sono realizzati in tubolare (diam. mm 12) e resi solidali alle estremità con due traverse (ponticelli) in verghetta piena a sezione circolare (diam. mm 6); gli apici esterni delle traverse sono configurati a sferetta, mentre sulle estremità dei motanti sono stati applicati elementi modanati di fantasia. Nel senso della lunghezza del telaio così costituito (misure max. cm 22 x 11,5, apici esclusi) sono posizionati, a distanza regolare, gli elementi, in numero di otto, formati ciascuno da una verghetta piena (diam. mm 4) che si muove, con un certo gioco, entro i fori praticati nei montanti, e sulla quale — con gioco più ampio — è infilata una cannula (diam. mm 8) di minimo spessore (mm 0,5 mediamente analogo a quello ottenibile per martellamento in una lamina antica).

Di questa definizione sono in parte debitrice all'intervento fatto da Febo Guizzi durante l'incontro di iconografia musicale tenutosi, successivamente al convegno di Salonicco, ad Assisi nel luglio del 1990. È fuori dubbio, infatti, che oltre mediante percussione o sfregamento lo strumento doveva risuonare anche tramite semplice scuotimento, come sembra confermato da numerosissime scene nelle quali sembra prevalere il tipo B (si indica per tutte quella con la rappresentazione di Afrodite sull'oinochoe dalla tomba 13 Licinella di Paestum, vedi infra nota 20). Circa il possibile uso del plettro, questo sarebbe testimoniato solo da un askos di Napoli, noto da un disegno e non più rintracciabile, riprodotto in Schneider-Herrmann 1977–78: 266 n. 8, 277 fig. 8. Volevo comunque ricordare che il nome di sistro apulo, già attribuito da Heydemann nell'Ottocento, è stato recentemente riproposto da Di Giulio 1988: 113–7.



6. Sistro italico. Ricostruzione in ottone trafilato

Più chiara si presenta l'interpretazione della *pelike* del Museo di Copenhagen che da il nome al Pittore della Danzatrice di Copenhagen. ¹⁰ In alto, una scena all'interno di un gineceo, caratterizzato dallo specchio appeso alla parete, dal *klismos* e dal *diphros*. Si vedono da sinistra una donna con benda, una suonatrice di doppio *aulos* (al suono del quale si muove una danzatrice velata, iconograficamente molto vicina a quella della *lekythos* di Essen), indi una suonatrice di arpa, la quale attende, concentrata, il momento di entrare in scena con il suo strumento. Ai piedi dell'*auletris* giace abbandonata una lira, ai piedi della suonatrice d'arpa, invece, il *sistro italico* del tipo più semplice. Più che ad una tranquilla scena di gineceo, i passi vorticosi della danza e il suono alternato di strumenti ritmici e melodici, fanno pensare ad una esecuzione musicale per la cerimonia nuziale che si svolge nella parte inferiore: la giovane sposa, assistita affettuosamente dai genitori e da un'ancella nel momento degli *anakalypteria*, riceve i doni dallo sposo, protetto da Afrodite, a destra con cigno sulle ginocchia, mentre due Eroti recano ghirlande e bende.

¹⁰ Riprodotta in Keuls 1979, tav. 66'2. Già considerata da Wegner e Keuls, vedi in ultimo Trendall-Cambitoglou 1982: 509 n. 123, con bibliografia precedente.

Lo stesso legame sembra si debba cogliere tra il concerto delle Muse rappresentato sul lato A del cratere a volute di Monaco 3268 (che da il nome al Pittore di Sisifo) e il matrimonio, forse di Laerte e Anticlea, rappresentato sul lato opposto.¹¹

Ancora una *performance* musicale di sole donne, ma questa volta rappresentata nel momento dell'avvenuta esecuzione, presenta la *pelike* del Museo di Torino 4129,¹² attribuita allo stesso pittore della *pelike* di Copenhagen. Il nostro strumento, sempre del tipo A, giace abbandonato ai piedi della donna seduta sullo sgabello a sinistra; ugualmente in posizione di riposo è la suonatrice d'arpa al centro, che tiene lo strumento abbandonato sulle ginocchia.

La scena inferiore propone il momento dell'abbraccio amoroso della coppia nel talamo, alla presenza di due *nympheutriai* e due ancelle, mentre un Eros con ghirlanda e benda consacra questo momento particolare delle nozze, così spesso rappresentato nella ceramica apula.¹³

Che l'abbraccio della coppia fosse un momento intimo cui convenisse più l'accompagnamento musicale della cetra dalla cassa rettangolare e lunghi bracci verticali (anch'essa caratteristica del mondo italiota e soprattutto apulo del IV secolo), invece del suono ritmico del nostro sistro (che troviamo abbandonato ai piedi della sposa non sappiamo se come strumento musicale momentaneamente inoperoso o come dono nuziale), appare chiaramente indicato nella *pelike* 543 del catalogo Sotheby, 17–8 Luglio 1985 (vedi Cassimatis 1987: fig. 2 e p. 78 n. 5).

L'offerta di doni da parte dello sposo e la scena dell'abbraccio amoroso si trovano associate alla rappresentazione di Afrodite, sulle ginocchia della quale o subito accanto ritroviamo il nostro strumento, questa volta del secondo tipo, come attributo della dea dell'amore e del matrimonio. Indicativi in tal senso sembrano un lebete nuziale dall'ipogeo Varrese di Canosa (Museo di Taranto 8893) (*fig. 7*) del gruppo del Pittore della *pelike* di Copenhagen, ¹⁴ e la *pelike* di Taranto 4619 della cerchia del Pittore dell'Oltretomba (*fig. 8*). ¹⁵ Nel primo, il giovane fidanzato avvolto nell'*himation*, con *stephane* e bastone, offre alla sposa, riccamente abbigliata e seduta sul trono, una ghirlanda e un leprotto. In alto campeggia, fra due Eroti, Afrodite con una colomba nella mano destra, la sinistra appoggiata all'estremità inferiore del sistro. Nella seconda, lo sposo invita affettuosamente la sposa, con lungo chitone sciolto, a salire sul letto nuziale; avanza da sinistra un'ancella con il lebete per il lavacro rituale. In alto un'Afrodite civettuola, con ombrellino e lo strumento a forma di piccola scala abbandonato sulle ginocchia, volge lo sguardo verso un Eros androgino, riccamente ingioiellato, che regge le due estremità della *ivnx*.

L'intimo rapporto tra Afrodite ed Eros, visto quest'ultimo come compagno piuttosto che figlio e conseguentemente caratterizzato dagli stessi attributi, è chiaramente indicato nel lebete nuziale da Ruvo (Museo di Taranto 61438) attribuito al Pittore di Baltimora (*fig. 9*),¹⁶ nel quale la dea seduta su una roccia solleva l'*himation*, reggendo lo specchio, con la mano destra, posa affettuosamente la sinistra sulla spalla di un Eros androgino, che tiene una ghirlanda e regge il nostro strumento per l'estremità superiore. Sull'altra faccia ancora lo stesso Eros androgino seduto, con ghirlanda, *phiale* e cassetta nella mano sinistra, appoggia la destra su un *tympanon*

¹¹ Prendiamo in esame più puntualmente questo vaso in un'altra ricerca di cui daremo i risultati al più presto in altra sede. Più volte riprodotto e descritto vedi in ultimo Trendall-Cambitoglou 1978: 16 n. 51, con bibliografia essenziale.

¹² Riprodotta in CVA I 32 Torino 1 IV D, tav. 12'1. Trendall-Cambitoglou 1982: 509 n. 126, con bibliografia precedente. Probabilmente ancora una performance musicale femminile per cetra e sistro doveva essere rappresentata sull'askos di Napoli riprodotto in Schneider-Herrmann 1977/78: 277 fig. 8 (vedi supra nota 9).

¹³ Vedi in proposito le recenti considerazioni, forse un po' troppo intellettualistiche, di Cassimatis 1987: passim.

¹⁴ Già preso in considerazione da Schneider-Herrmann 1976: 520, fig. 2, vedi in ultimo Trendall-Cambitoglou 1982: 511 n. 135, tav. 183,3.

¹⁵ Trendall-Cambitoglou 1982: 544 n. 366, tav. 206,1-2.

¹⁶ Trendall-Cambitoglou 1982: 874 n. 89, tav. 335,2-3.



7. Lebete nuziale. Taranto, Museo Nazionale, 8893. – Foto: Museo





8. Pelike. Taranto, Museo Nazionale, 4619. – Foto: Museo

9. Lebete nuziale, Taranto, Museo Nazionale, 61438. - Foto: Museo

riccamente decorato, a significare probabilmente il sincretismo religioso tra Afrodite e Dioniso, sincretismo più volte notato in questo periodo nel mondo magno-greco (vedi in proposito Greco 1970: 15).

Ad una ulteriore semplificazione degli stessi schemi si devono attribuire le numerose scene nelle quali compaiono, isolatamente, una donna oppure Eros nell'atto di reggere (o scuotere?) il nostro strumento.¹⁷ Spesso il sistro compare in scene nelle quali sembra sottolineare l'atmosfera religiosa e rituale nella quale si muovono i personaggi, come nella *pelike* della collezione Meo-Evoli, nella quale la presenza del *louterion* richiama ai rituali del fidanzamento (Reho-Bumbalova 1979: 121–4, tav. LVa).

Poche, proporzionalmente, e più difficili da interpretare, le scene nelle quali il nostro oggetto è tenuto in mano da personaggi maschili, spesso giovani nudi, con mantello sul braccio e con

¹⁷ Vedi ad esempio l'oinochoe di Göttingen in Bentz-Rumscheid 1987: 53 n. 26.

bastone: l'atmosfera sembra comunque essere quella del dono nuziale come nella *lekythos* di Zurigo 2654,¹⁸ o la consacrazione dello strumento ad Afrodite come nella *pelike* di Bologna (coll. Palagi 798) o nel lebete nuziale di Napoli Stg 360 (*fig. 10*).¹⁹

L'interpretazione proposta per la scena rappresentata sul lebete di Napoli ci sembra possa essere confortata dalla lettura della raffigurazione dipinta sul lato opposto (riprodotta in Schauenburg 1972: tav. 17,2): due Eroti con bende, specchio e *iynx* sottolineano l'atmosfera erotica di uno dei tanti rituali nuziali, al quale assiste da una finestra semiaperta una fanciulla velata in attento raccoglimento. In basso due gruppi: a sinistra un giovane coronato, con bastone e mantello (lo sposo?), intento ad ascoltare una suonatrice d'arpa, che sembra una professionista; a destra una donna velata e riccamente ingioiellata (probabilmente la madre) avanza verso un giovane suonatore di cetra (del tipo a cassa rettangolare e alti bracci verticali) anche lui coronato e avvolto nell'*himation*, seduto su un sontuoso sgabello (identificato come Apollo, ma più probabilmente un mortale, a giudicare proprio dal tipo di cetra, che compare spesso nelle mani dell'uomo in scene rappresentanti la coppia nel talamo).

Come attributo di Afrodite pronuba, credo, sia da interpretare il nostro strumento nella scena mitologica del giudizio di Paride, rappresentata sulla *oinochoe* dalla tomba 13 in loc. Licinella a Paestum,²⁰ laddove una Afrodite giovanile e vezzosa, trattenuta per un braccio da Atena, sembra agitare, suonando, con la sinistra il nostro strumento nella versione elegantemente modanata, e provvista di sonagli (tipo B).

L'esaltazione di Afrodite e della sfera riconducibile al suo culto sembra sottolineare l'ideologia funeraria del mondo femminile pestano. La tomba 13 conteneva, infatti, oltre alla *oinochoe* già considerata, un'anfora con l'*epiphania* di Afrodite e un lebete nuziale con scena interpretata di gineceo (Greco 1970: 35), ma facilmente riconducibile alla sfera nuziale. La stessa ideologia sembra essere presente nella scelta dei vasi deposti nella tomba 86 in loc. Andriuolo, sempre a Paestum, la quale comprendeva, oltre ad un lebete nuziale con la nascita di Afrodite (il cui schema ricorda quello del Trono Ludovisi), un'*hydria* con la rappresentazione dell'incontro amoroso di Danae e Zeus, sottolineato dal sistro pendente dalla parete insieme a due *tympana*.²¹ Lo stesso significato assume la rappresentazione del nostro strumento nelle mani di un Erote su un cratere a calice dei Musei Vaticani,²² con Europa che accoglie il toro fatale con un gesto di tenerezza, mentre la nutrice si allontana. Ancora più significativo lo stesso mito riprodotto sull'anfora da Canosa (Museo di Bari 872), nella quale Europa va incontro al toro reggendo per una estremità il nostro strumento, che ritorna nelle mani di una donna nella scena inferiore, costituita da un fregio continuo con la narrazione di vari momenti, forse relativi al rito nuziale.²³ Al mito di

Riproduzione CVA Schweiz 2, Zürich 1 IV D, tav. 34'7. Trendall-Cambitoglou 1978: 341 n. 24 con bibliografia precedente. Nella stessa scena compare a sinistra una donna che offre alla sposa una bambola, quasi a sottolineare il momento di passaggio dallo status di fanciulla (rappresentato dalla bambola) a quello di donna (rappresentato dall'offerta del sistro). Tale interpretazione rafforzerebbe secondo Margot Schmidt, intervenuta nella discussione seguita alla mia relazione, l'identificazione del nostro strumento con la platage di Archita, già proposta da Smith 1976: 130.

¹⁹ Pelike di Bologna per la quale vedi in ultimo Trendall-Cambitoglou 1982: 515 n. 166; riproduzione CVA Italia I 12 Bologna 3 IV Dr, tav. 11'3. Lebete di Napoli per il quale vedi Trendall-Cambitoglou 1982: 507 n. ll6, con bibliografia precedente.

²⁰ Vedi in ultimo Trendall 1987: 239 n. 964, tav. 146, con bibliografia precedente.

²¹ Vedi in ultimo Trendall 1987: 318 n. 448, tav. 204,c-d, con bibliografia precedente.

²² Trendall-Cambitoglou 1982: 507 n. 113.

²³ Trendall-Cambitoglou 1982: 497 n. 44, con bibliografia essenziale. Vedi comunque anche Schauenburg 1981: 110–2, tavv. 23–7 e le parziali riproduzioni fotografiche in Lohmann 1979, tav. 52,1–2. Questo vaso si inserisce in un gruppo di cui ci occuperemo in altra sede, caratterizzato dalla raffigurazione di temi legati da un intento narrativo coerente di carattere mitologico-rituale.



10. Lebete nuziale. Napoli, Museo Nazionale. Stg 360. – Foto da Megale Hellas 1986.

Europa corrisponde sull'altro lato quello di Atalanta e Meleagro, un dramma d'amore prima che di morte. Sulla spalla dello stesso vaso, ancora due scene riconducibili al cerimoniale nuziale: su un lato la giovane sposa velata nella casa del padre, sull'altro la coppia nel talamo. L'idillio e il talamo nuziali vengono rappresentati miticamente nell'incontro di Dioniso e Arianna presso un altare nel cratere a campana del Louvre S 4049,²⁴ e nell'abbraccio amoroso sempre di Dioniso e Arianna, che solleva il velo mentre un Erote porge una ghirlanda, nel cratere a campana di Basilea attribuito al Pittore di Ippolito.²⁵

Nel primo cratere lo strumento a forma di piccola scala è tenuto in mano da Arianna; nel secondo compare sospeso nell'aria in una scena chiaramente ambientata all'aperto. L'incontro del dio (che ha momentaneamente abbandonato il tirso) con l'eroina si svolge infatti tra rami e cespugli rigogliosi; a sinistra una menade porge una *phiale*, a destra un satiro versa dall'otre acqua in un cratere (per il lavacro rituale?), mentre gli *auloi* giacciono abbandonati sul terreno.

²⁴ Trendall-Cambitoglou 1978: 387 n. 214, tav. 132,3-4.

²⁵ Trendall-Cambitoglou 1982: 480 n. 13, tav. 170,3-4.



11. Cratere a volute. Bari, Museo Archeologico, 6270. – Foto da Lohmann 1979

Anche nel mito dunque il nostro strumento sembra conservare lo stesso significato allusivo al mondo dell'amore e ai suoi rituali.

Esso compare infine in scene funerarie: tra queste vanno distinte innanzi tutto quelle in cui lo strumento è presente in mano alla defunta entro il *naiskos*, oppure appeso alla parete dello stesso, o ancora in associazione con altri oggetti tipici del mondo muliebre.

Esemplificativa in tal senso l'*hydria* Raleigh (NC) 74.1.2, nella quale sono rappresentate tre donne. A destra la defunta seduta nel gesto di svelarsi, affettuosamente consolata da un'amica o parente. Sulla parete destra del *naiskos* è appoggiato il sistro, che presenta su uno dei montanti verticali un anello per la sospensione.²⁶ È chiaro in scene di questo tipo l'intento di ricreare allusivamente l'ambiente familiare che la defunta ha lasciato e di accennare all'avvenimento più significativo della sua vita, ossia il passaggio dallo *status* di fanciulla a quello di moglie.

26 Trendall-Cambitoglou 1982: 537 n. 313, tav. 201,1-3. Vedi comunque anche Lohmann 1979: 246, tav. 48.

Un altro gruppo è costituito invece dalle scene nelle quali il nostro strumento compare nelle mani di una donna, ma anche di un uomo, nell'atto di rendere omaggio ad un monumento funerario femminile, ma spesso anche maschile, come nell'anfora del Pittore di Ruvo 407, nella quale si vedono un giovane nudo, con bastone e mantello, nell'atto di porgere il nostro strumento, il defunto rappresentato quale doriforo entro il *naiskos*, e una donna con specchio.²⁷ In questi casi il nostro strumento sembra costituire uno dei tanti oggetti attinenti al cerimoniale relativo al culto dei morti, con allusione forse al tema della rinascita. In questo senso va letta probabilmente la presenza di Afrodite con il sistro e Apollo (Apollo *Hyakinthos*?) con cetra, nel cratere a volute di Bari 6270 (*fig. 11*). Le due divinità, in questo caso con valenze chiaramente ctonie, sono rappresentate ai lati del *naiskos*, entro il quale è un doriforo che volge lo sguardo e tende il braccio destro verso Hermes, appoggiato a un *louterion*; in basso a destra un guerriero armato di spada e con l'elmo sulle spalle porge l'estremo saluto.²⁸ Hermes è *Psychopompos*, il *louterion* è simbolo di purificazione rituale che qui può essere interpretato come preludio ad una nuova vita felice nell'Eliseo.

Estraneo dunque alla cultura della Grecia propria, nella quale non viene mai rappresentato, il nostro strumento, semplice, ritmico, monotonale, per questo comune probabilmente nelle cerimonie nuziali di sapore popolare, entra a far parte della cultura figurativa magno-greca del IV secolo a.C. per tradurre, entro gli schemi tradizionali, usi, credenze, aspirazioni locali.

Non è dunque evidentemente casuale che, ove si accettino i significati e le simbologie precedentemente esposti, lo strumento in oggetto venga riprodotto anche in altri ambiti figurativi, quali una statuetta fittile tipo Baubò o nei dischi magici di Taranto,²⁹ oggetti che legano ulteriormente il nostro strumento a quest'area culturale; lasciamo comunque aperto questo ulteriore indirizzo di ricerca, che esulerebbe d'altronde dai limiti iniziali che ci eravamo imposti.

²⁷ Trendall-Cambitoglou 1978: 327 n. 90, tav. 103,1–2.

²⁸ Trendall-Cambotoglou 1978: 420 n. 41, tav. 154,2-5; la figura con cetra è interpretata dubitativamente come Orfeo in Lohmann 1979: 181, tav. 12,1.

²⁹ Zancani Montuoro 1977: 39 n. 30, tav. XV c-d; Wuilleumier 1932, passim.

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Die Musikikonographie des Dionysoskultes im römischen Palästina

Joachim Braun

Es ist kaum zu glauben, daß wir — ungeachtet der zentralen Rolle der Musik im Dionysoskult und einer seltenen Überfülle ikonographischen Materials — bis heute keine übergreifende Studie zu diesem Thema haben. Es genügt zu bemerken, daß Warren Andersons Artikel "Dionysos" im New Grove eine Bibliographie von sechs Titeln bietet, von denen eigentlich keiner der dionysischen Kultmusik gewidmet ist. In den klassischen Studien von Walter Otto (1933) und Martin Nilsson (1957) sind Abschnitte zu jedem Aspekt des Kultes zu finden, nur keiner zur Musik, und Günther Wille bietet in seinem Werk über römische Musik ein Kapitel von nur drei Seiten "Dionysos und seine Musik" (1967: 530-3). Günther Fleischhauers acht Abbildungen und etwa zehn Textseiten aus dem Etrurien-Rom-Band der Musikgeschichte in Bildern, fast dreissig Jahre alt, ist bis heute die vollständigste Veröffentlichung zu unserem Thema (1964: 76-83). Dazu gibt es kaum eine Handvoll musikwissenschaftlicher Studien, die einzelne literarische oder archäologische Studien besprechen (Fellerer 1941 und 1956: Bélis 1988). Bei dieser Forschungslage ist es kaum verwunderlich, daß periphere Traditionen der Dionysosmusik außer acht geblieben sind. Gerade diese können aber vieles zur Genese und Natur des Themas beifügen, besonders wenn man die jetzt anerkannten nahöstlichen Wurzeln des Dionysos-Kybele-Kultes in Betracht zieht. In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich eine kleine Gruppe von archäologischen Funden aus Alt-Palästina vorführen.

Auf diesem winzigen Landstreifen des südöstlichen Mittelmeeres (um 30'000 km²) — auf den Kreuzwegen Afrikas-Asiens-Europas gelegen — hatte die polytheistische Alte Welt im Sinn der religiösen Kultpflege einen höchst fruchtbaren Boden. Ein besonders interessantes Zeugnis dafür ist der Dionysoskult. In Altpalästina erlebte er in der atemberaubenden Zeit der letzten vorchristlichen und ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte sein goldenes Zeitalter.

Das wichtigste Zentrum des Dionysoskultes in Alt-Palästina war offensichtlich Skythopolis /Nysa (heute Beth-Schean) eine Stadt der römischen Decapolis, laut mythologischer Überlieferung von Dionysos zu Ehren seiner Amme Nysa gegründet (Avi-Yonah 1962: Bietenhard 1977). Im zweiten Jahrhundert n. Chr. mit seinem größten im Nahen Osten gelegenem Amphitheater weit bekannt, wurde dieser Ort in den letzten Jahren zu einem der bemerkenswertesten Ausgrabungsfälle der Dionysostradition im Nahen Osten (Tsafrir und Foerster 1987/88; Beth-Shean 1990). Zwischen vielen anderen Funden wurde in einer verhältnismäßig breit angelegten Basilika (28 x 50 m) ein hexagonaler Altar freigelegt (Tsafrir und Foerster 1987/88: 31, Abb. 18). Die *tabula ansata* berichtet, daß ein bestimmter Seleukos den 72 cm hohen Altar zu Ehren des Gründers der Stadt im Jahre 75 der Skythopolis Ära, also im Jahre 12 n. Chr., errichtet hat. Ein zentral gestelltes Dionysosrelief, zwei Reliefs mit gehörnten Panfigu-

Der Dionysosartikel (Anderson 1980) gibt die folgende Bibliographie: Otto 1965. Wegner 1949. Guthrie 1954. Jeanmaire 1970, Guthrie 1967 und Wille 1967. Das Neue Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft (Riethmüller und Zaminer 1989) — die neuste Publikation zur Musik des Altertums — hat überhaupt kein Kapitel für die Musik Roms und begrenzt sich mit einer halben Seite allgemeiner Information über die Gottheit Dionysos.



1. Altar aus Beth-Schean (Scythpolis). Jerusalem, Hebräische Universität, Eigentum der Beth-Schean Expedition. – Photo: Gabi Laron (erste Veröffentlichung)

ren, zwei Reliefs mit gekreuzten Thyrsoi und eines mit einer Syrinx bilden je auf einer Seite des Altars die Symbolornamentation. Es ist zur Zeit das früheste mit Musik verbundene Zeugnis des Dionysoskultes in Alt-Palästina (*Abb. 1*).

Das Instrument hat sieben Pfeifen mit Doppelligatur. Ein Trag- oder Verzierungsband ist anscheinend im Hintergrund zu sehen. Das Instrument ist eine leicht modifizierte Mischform von Rechteck und Flügelform der sogenannten AB-Gruppe (Haas 1985: 65 u. 127). Dieser Syrinxtyp mit mehr oder weniger gleichen Röhren im oberen, und stark differenzierten Pfeifen

im unteren Register erscheint mehrfach in Alt-Palästina² und ist in seiner klassischen Form mit 12 Pfeifen auf einer stucco Grabzeichnung aus Ascalon vom zweiten/dritten Jahrhundert zu sehen (Braun 1995). Mit Vorsicht erlaube ich mir zu vermuten, daß diese typische alt-palästinensische Syrinxform ihre Wurzeln in der lokalen Musikpraxis hat: eine Tonreihe mit Micro-Intervallen im Bereich des höheren Registers und größeren Intervallen, möglicherweise mit gewißer Bordunfunktion, im niedrigeren Teil. Die Skythopolis-Syrinx ist die älteste mir bekannte Darstellung des Instruments in Alt-Palästina und erfüllt schon in diesem ersten Beleg eine Symbolfunktion. Es war die wohlhabende Oberschicht einer hellenisierten, ethnisch heterogenen Großstadtbevölkerung, die sich dieses Altars bediente (Nilsson 1957: 146–7; Beth-Shean 1990: 30–1).

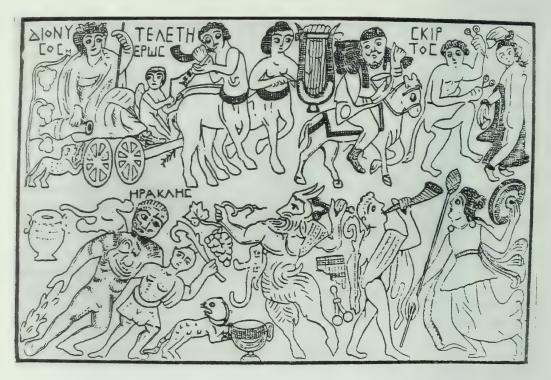
Musikinstrumente erscheinen anscheinend als Symbole im Heiligen Land zum ersten Mal auf Akko/Ptolemais-Münzen der Jahre 125-110 v. Chr., also circa hundert Jahre vor unserem Dionysosaltar. Die Vorderseite dieser Münzen zeigt römische Kaiserreliefs mit Apolloähnlichkeit, die Rückseite zwei verschiedene Leiertypen.3 Hier war es eine nahöstliche Handelsstadtbevölkerung, die das Musikinstrument als Symbol von den griechischen Münzen (Jenkins 1972: Abb. 31 u. 40) übernommen hatte. Dann, während des zweiten Jüdischen Aufstandes, 132-135 n. Chr., erschienen die berühmten Bar-Kochba-Münzen mit ihren zwei Leiertypen und einem Blasinstrumentenpaar (Meshorer 1982 II: 134-52) als antirömischen Symbolen für religiöse und staatliche Unabhängigkeit. Nach einigen Jahren, d.h. in der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts, wurden die Panias/Caesarea Philippi-Münzen mit der Panfigur und den verschiedenen Blasinstrumenten (einschließlich Syrinx) geprägt (Meshorer 1984/85). Diese letzteren, bei einer breiten heidnisch-jüdisch-christlichen Stadtbevölkerung im Gebrauch, sollten sowohl die Loyalität zur Zentralmacht des Kaiserreichs bestätigen, wie auch ein Zeichen der lokalen Stadtidentität sein. Zur selben Zeit erscheint auch die Orgel als Kultsymbol auf einem samaritischen Öllämpchen (Braun 1994). Mit Recht können wir also behaupten, daß dies die Zeit war (Ende des zweiten vorchristlichen bis zweites nachchristliches Jahrhundert), in der sich die Darstellung des Musikinstrumentes als Symbol in den verschiedensten ethnischen, religiösen und sozialen Bevölkerungsgruppen Alt-Palästinas stabilisierte.

Die musikwissenschaftlich bedeutendsten Zeugnisse des Dionysoskultes gehören einer späteren Zeit an als der Skythopolis-Altar, nämlich der spätrömischen Epoche (70 n. Chr. bis Mitte des vierten Jahrhunderts). Als erstes soll das im Historischen Museum von Ismailia aufbewahrte großartige Mosaik aus dem Hause des Scheichs Zouede von Gaza betrachtet werden. Genau vor achtzig Jahren in einer Expedition der Abteilung für ägyptisches Altertum von Jean Clédat in der Nähe von Gaza entdeckt (Clédat 1915), wurde dieses Werk, abgesehen von einer flüchtigen Erwähnung von Hans Hickmann (1949: 85), musikwissenschaftlich nicht ausgewertet.

Scheich Zouedes Mosaik (4,75 x 3,0 m) diente als Fußboden eines Tricliniums (7,25 x 6,60 m) in einem großen Gebäude, das offenbar einem reichen Privatmann an der wichtigen Karawanenroute Ägypten-Syrien gehörte. Der Mosaikteppich ist in drei Abschnitte unterteilt, von denen der größte den Triumphzug des Dionysos mit bacchischen und heraklischen Kontaminationen darstellt.

Die in Haas 1985: 65 als AB bezeichnete rechteckig-trapezartige Bastardform des Syrinx erscheint nicht vor der hellenistischen Zeit und ist auch dann sehr spärlich belegt. Dieser Syrinx-Typ zeigt gewöhnlich fünf bis acht Pfeifen, in Einzelfällen neun. Darstellungen von Instrumenten mit mehr als neun Pfeifen erscheinen nur im ptolemäischen Ägypten und auf alt-palästinensischen Funden, wie z. B. in der Ascalon Grabzeichnung (Ory 1939, Fig. 2), oder auf dem Knochenrelief im Haifa Museum, Inv. No. A59. Für die Erlaubnis, die Abb. 1 hier zu veröffentlichen, bin ich Prof. Gidon Foerster sehr dankbar.

³ Haifa Museum, Münzen Nos. 1156 u. 1205.



2. Mosaik im Haus des Scheich Zouede, Gaza. Konturenzeichnung aus Clédat 1915: 25, Fig. 5. Historisches Museum Ismailia Ägypten



3. Dionysos sitzend im Kentaurengespann. Detail des Mosaiks im Haus des Schaich Zouede, Gaza. Historisches Museum Ismailia Ägypten. – Photo: Ascher Ovadia

[EXKURSUS] Die obere Hälfte des Mosaiks stellt die mythische Szene der Überreichung des Briefes von Phädra an Hippolitos dar. Der mittlere Abscnitt zeigt unsere Dionysosszene und der untere eine Inschrift in der Form einer *tabula ansata*. Die folgenden griechischen Inschriften sind vohanden:

Über dem Phädra Panel: "Du kannst Nestor den Baumeister sehen, der die Schönheit liebt": [ίδ]οις Νέστορα τὸν φιλόκαλον κτίστην;

zwischen den Phädra- und Dionysos-Panels: "Freund, betrachte hier mit Genuß die schönen Sachen, welche die Kunst in die Mosaiksteine gelegt hat, Eifersucht und Augen des Neides versteinernd und zurückweisend. Du bist einer, der stolz über die schöne Kunst ist":

δεῦς' ἴδε τὰς χάριτας χαίρων, φίλε, ἄς τινας ἡμῖν τέχνη ταῖς ψήφοις ἔμβαλε, πηξαμένη τὸν φθόνον ἐκ μέσσου καὶ ὄμματα Βασκανίης, τῆς ἱλαρῆς τέχνης πολλάκις εὐξάμενος;

in der unteren *tabula ansata*: "Wenn du, Herr, mich liebst, trete froh in diese große Halle ein, und dann wird deine Seele die Kunstwerke hier genießen. Kypris hat in einem Mosaik zierlicher Steine diesen wunderbaren Peplos von Chariten gewebt und in ihn viel Liebreiz hinein gelegt";

Εί με φιλεῖς, ἄνθρωπε, χαίρων ἐπίβαινε μελάθρων./ ψυχὴν τερπόμενος τεχήμασιν οἶσιν ποθ' ἡμῖν./ Πέπλον ἱμερόεντα Χαρίτων ἡ Κύπρις ἵφανεν/ λεπταλέῃ ψησῖδι, χάριν δὲ ἐνεθήκατο πολλήν.4

Diese Inschriften, die dem Inhaber oder Architekten des Gebäudes Tribut zollen, weihen auch den Besucher in eine besondere Atmosphäre der Schönheit, Kunst und Erhabenheit ein.

Das Ganze zeigt eine seltene Fülle von Musikinstrumenten, deren Reichtum und Mannigfaltigkeit sogar die bekanntesten Darstellungen dieses Topos übertrifft (Abb. 2).5 Der männliche Kentaur (Abb. 3) bläst ein Instrument, das man mit dem phrygischen Aulos in Verbindung bringen kann. In der hellenistisch-römischen Ikonographie ist es der weibliche Kentaurus, der dieses Instrument spielt (vgl. Matz 1968, II: Nos. 151 u. 159. Oder handelt es sich anstatt des weiblichen Kentaurus eher um einen Jüngling, wie die Bilder bei Matz 1968, II: No. 155; Daszewski und Michaelides 1989: Abb. 51 nahelegen?) Die gebogene Pfeife, der Elymos, ist hier, wie die Farbe der Mosaiken-Tessera eindeutig zeigt, ein einheitliches Horn ohne Fingerlöcher und nicht das für den phrygischen Aulos typische Rohr mit aufgesetztem hörnernem Schalltrichter (Marcuse 1975: 658). Wir haben also vor uns ein Bordunhorn, das der römischen Tradition fremd ist und offenbar wie eine Trompete geblasen wird. Ob wir es hier dementsprechend mit einem Doppelblasinstrument mit dualer Blastechnik (das andere Rohr muß ein Klarinetten- oder Oboeninstrument sein) zu tun haben, oder ob es sich um ein Horn mit Zungenvorrichtung handelt, ist unmöglich zu sagen. Das Horn wird vom Kentaur in der rechten Hand gehalten, was auch der römischen Spielpraxis widerspricht (Fleischhauer 1964: 80; Marcuse 1975: 658). Karl Gustav Fellerer ist der Ansicht, daß die Haltung des Horns in der rechten und der geraden Pfeife in der linken Hand vom zweiten Jahrhundert an eine häufige Erscheinung sei (1956: 69).6 Sie scheint in der römischen Peripherie zu gedeihen, und hat möglicherweise auch dort — wo die Spielregeln freier waren — ihren Ursprung. Das zweite, gerade Rohr unseres Kentaurs zeigt zwei oder möglicherweise drei der T-förmigen keras-Vorrichtungen, die der Änderung der Klangfarbe dienten (Becker 1966: 140-3). Aber wieder sehen wir eine klare Abweichung von der römischen organologischen Praxis: Dort sind die keras immer auf dem linken Pfeifenrohr mit Schalltrichter

⁴ Deutsche Übersetzung vom Verfasser aufgrund von Ovadia 1991: 182–3 u. 187).

⁵ Ich bin Professor Asher Ovadia für die Scheich Zouede Photographien, wie auch für die Möglichkeit, seinen Vortrag (1991) vor der Veröffentlichung zu lesen, auf das tiefste verbunden. Vollständigere, gute Photographien sind zur Zeit nicht zugänglich.

⁶ Selbst wenn man diese These Fellerers annähme, wäre der Hinweis auf das Kölner Dionysosmosaik (Fellerer 1956: 69) nicht relevant, da dort der Satyr das Horn mit der linken Hand und die gerade Pfeife mit der rechten hält. Die einzige mir bekannte Darstellung einer rechthändigen Haltung der gebogenen Pfeife ist das Relief bei Fleischhauer (1964: 87, Abb. 48).

angebracht oder auf beiden Pfeifen zu sehen, bei unserem Instrument nur auf der geraden, linken Pfeife. Laut Fellerer soll der phrygische Aulos mit *keras* auf einer Pfeife zu der mittleren Entwicklungsphase des Instruments gehören (zweites bis Anfang drittes Jahrhundert), die frühere, ohne *keras*, ins erste Jahrhundert, und die am weitesten, entwickelte, mit *keras* auf beiden Pfeifen, in die Zeit des Übergangs vom zweiten zum dritten Jahrhundert (Fellerer 1956: 68).

Auch die Leier in den Händen des weiblichen Kentaurs steht im Gegensatz zur römischen Tradition und gehört zum Instrumententyp, den Hans Hickmann ägyptischen Leiern des dritten und zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrhundertes gleichstellt (Hickmann 1960: 532 und Tafeln Nos. 4 u. 7). Es sind die seltenen, geographisch begrenzten "Leiern mit sehr schmalen und halbmondförmig gekrümmten Resonatoren und gebogenen Jocharmen" (ebenda).

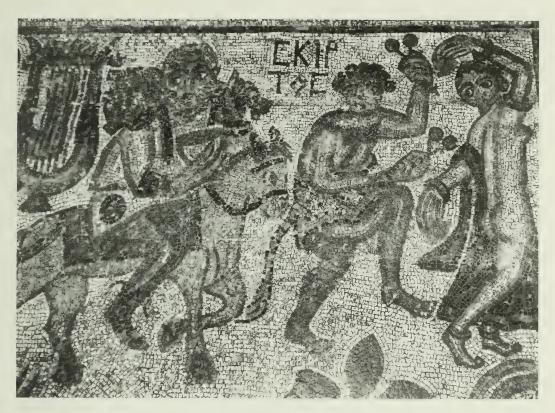
Einen Leierfuß, wie bei unserem Instrument, kann man auch auf römischen Sarkophagen sehen (Matz 1968, II: Tafel 174, 1–2). Die Jocharme sind genau wie das vorher erwähnte Horn des phrygischen Aulos durch dunkle Farbe hervorgehoben. Auch hier haben wir also eine naturgetreue Darstellung von hörnernen Jocharmen der Sebelantilope Orygeni vor uns, wie sie Herodot bei der orientalischen Leier beschreibt (Herodot: IV, 192). Solche Ziegenbockhörner sind auch auf den jüdischen Bar-Kochba-Münzen der römischen Zeit zu sehen (Meshorer 1982, II: 146–7). Unsere Leier hat sechs Saiten und sechs Stimmpflöcke; zum Spiel wird ein Plektrum gebraucht. Ob es Zufall ist, daß der männliche Part mit Aulos und der weibliche mit Leier dargestellt ist, oder ob wir es hier mit einem Deutungswandel zu tun haben, ist zur Zeit nicht geklärt.

Eins steht aber fest: Die Anwesenheit der Leier und des phrygischen Aulos in einem Dionysosgespann ist ein klarer Hinweis auf den komplexen Dualismus der Dionysosmusik. Die Leier hat ihren Platz und Bedeutung schon im Kybelekult, dessen Chordophon-Aerophon Dualität in den ersten ikonographischen Belegen klar zutage tritt (Bittel 1968: 81; Braun 1994). Dieser vielschichtige Dualismus Saiten-Blasinstrument wurde vom Kybele- an den Dionysoskult vererbt. Es ist nicht möglich, hier weiter auf dieses verwickelte Problem einzugehen; auch die informationsreiche Studie Martin Vogels (1966) gibt uns keine Antwort auf die vielen Fragen. Jedenfalls ist eine simplifizierte Interpretation der Instrumentensymbolik im Rahmen des Kultes kaum akzeptierbar. Sowohl die reale Existenz, wie auch die Symbolik des dionysischen Musikthiasos kann nicht so einseitig, wie es Annie Bélis haben will (1988: 10), als Blas- oder Schlaginstrumentenensemble verstanden werden.

Das Kentaurengespann mit dem kleinem Eros, der den Wagen lenkt, und dem im Wagen sitzenden Dionysos bilden das zentrale und ständige ikonographische Element des Aufzugs des Dionysos. Hier Διόνυσος τελετή genannt, ist es eine Szene des dionysischen Mysteriums (Clédat 1915: 26), eine orgiastische Zeremonie oder Mysterieninitiation (Rose 1966: 882). Typologisch gesehen kann diese Szene verschiedenartig klassifiziert werden: Wagen von einem Paar von Kentauren, einem Tiger oder Elefanten gezogen; Dionysos stehend, sitzend oder liegend; Dionysos allein, mit Ariadne oder Viktoria, u.s.w.

Befassen wir uns mit dem Zouede-Mosaik typologisch verwandten Werken:

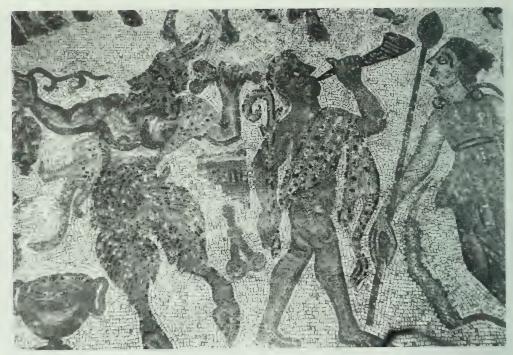
Neun thematisch benachbarte nordafrikanische Mosaiken (2.–4. Jh.) zeigen alle, außer dem frühesten von Akolla (Anfang des zweiten Jahrhunderts), ein Tigergespann (Dumbabin 1978: 181–3) und sind somit typologisch vom Zouede-Mosaik verschieden. Das Akolla-Bild scheint ikonographisch aus einer völlig anderen Richtung zu kommen: kein Thiasos, keine Musik, ein isoliertes Kentaurgespann mit im Wagen stehendem Dionysos (Foucher 1975: Taf. XX, 1). Auch das berühmte antiochische Mosaik (Levi 1947: Bel. II, Taf. 16) gehört nicht zur Kentaurgespanngruppe. Im Nahen Osten gehört einzig das Paphos-Mosaik vom Aion Haus (drittes/viertes Jahrhundert) zu dem Typ der musizierenden Kentauren (Daszewski und Michaelides



4. Wie Abb. 3, Satyr Skirtos mit Gabelbecken und Mänade mit Glöckchen

1989: Abb. 51). Die Darstellung im Haus Scheich Zouedes gehört also typologisch zu der römischen Sarkophaggruppe, die Friedrich Matz als "Umzüge: Dionysos sitzend oder liegend — Kentaurenwagen" bezeichnet (Matz 1968: II, 286–301). Charakteristischerweise ist bei Stiltypologien wie dieser nie das Musikinstrument in die Analyse einbezogen. Wenn man aber auch diesen Parameter beizieht, dann bleiben von Matz's dreizehn Sarkophagen nur vier mit den musizierenden Kentauren übrig (ebenda, Nos. 149 und 155 von der Villa Medici, No. 151 von Casino Rospigliosi und No. 159 von S. Pietro, alle in Rom). Matz datiert sie ins zweite bis dritte Jahrhundert und führt sie auf einen Archetyp des zweiten Jahrhunderts zurück (ebenda, 290). Sie bestehen in einer ziemlich begrenzten Gruppe, die typologisch als 'Dionysoswagen mit musizierendem Kentaurengespann' bezeichnet werden kann und in das zweite/dritte Jahrhundert fällt.

Die nächsten Musikszenen im Zouede-Mosaik sind der auf einem Esel reitende Papposilenos (Ovadia 1991: 183) mit dem tanzenden Satyr Skirtos, der temperamentvoll mit jeder Hand ein Gabelbecken schüttelt (*Abb. 4*) sowie eine Szene in der unteren Reihe, die das gleiche Instrument zeigt zwischen Pan und einem hornblasenden Satyr (*Abb. 5*). Hier ist das Instrument, das zusammen mit einer Syrinx dem horror vacui entgegenwirkt, detaillierter dargestellt: der Ring, der die zwei Gabeln (30–35 cm lang) wie bei den ägyptisch-koptischen Gabelbecken (Hickmann 1949ab: Nos. 69258–61) zusammenhält, ist klar zu sehen. Eine entblößte Mänade die Tunika am Arm und in reichem orientalischem Schmuck, schlägt zwei Glöckchen. Auch diese sind den ägyptischen Funden der römischen Zeit sehr ähnlich (ebenda: Nos. 69294–7).



5. Wie Abb. 3, Satyr ein Horn blasend



6. Wie Abb. 3, Bacchantin mit Tympanum und Thyrsosstab

Unsere Mänade schüttelt die Glöckehen mit einer Hand über dem Kopf und mit der anderen hinter dem Rücken, wie es die spanischen Tänzerinnen auch heute noch mit den Kastagnetten tun. Es ist eine der ganz seltenen Darstellungen von Tanz und Glockenspiel aus so früher Zeit. In der unteren Reihe schlägt ein gehörnter Pan die schon erwähnten Gabelbecken (Abb. 5), und nach diesem ist ein zweiter Satyr mit übergeworfenem nebris (Tierfell) zu sehen, der eine Muscheltrompete bläst (die Windungen sind mit der Mosaikfarbe eingezeichnet). Wenigstens fünf Muscheltrompeten (auch Muschelhörner genannt, Sachs 1913: 264) wurden im römischen Israel archäologisch bestätigt (Israeli Antiquity Authority, Inv. Nos. 81.621, 81.622, 81.623, 81.693). Muscheltrompeten sind aus der Muschel tritonium nodiferum hergestellt und gewöhnlich mit Tritonen assoziiert. Tritonshörner genannt, wurden sie in römischer Ikonographie mit Meeres-Topoi verbunden (Fleischhauer 1964: 128-9). Römische Mythen berichten, daß der kochlos (Seehorn) bei der Meeresschlacht gegen die Inder im Begleitzug des Dionysos geblasen wurde (Nonnos: XXXIV. 385). Im Triumphzug ist der Kochlos aber eine Seltenheit. Der Thiasos schließt mit einer Bacchantin (Abb. 6), die im Tanzschritt in einer Hand den Thyrsosstab, in der anderen das Tympanum schwingt. Das Instrument ist hier wie auf den klassischen griechischen Vasen dargestellt — eine halbsphärische Scheibe mit Fell bespannt (Wegner 1963: Abb. 26; Fleischhauer 1964: Abb. 44). Eine Parallele zu unserer Bacchantin sehen wir in der Nymphe mit Tympanum und Thyrsosspeer auf dem sogenannten Mildenhaller Silberteller. ebenfalls aus römischer Zeit (Merkelbach 1988: Abb. 85).

Das Zouede-Mosaik bietet uns also Darstellungen von sieben verschiedenen Musikinstrumenten (elf. wenn wir die mehrfachen Abbildungen von Gabelbecken und Glöckchen einzeln zählen).⁷ Sie erscheinen sowohl in Spielposition, wie auch als Symbol. Ein Vergleich mit den zwei größten und wichtigsten Gruppen, die dieses Thema gestalten, zeigt, daß die ptolemäischseleukidischen Mosaiken nicht mehr als zwei und die italienisch-römischen Sarkophage nicht mehr als vier verschiedene Instrumente auf einem Artefakt bieten. Schon dies hebt die besondere Stellung des Zouede-Mosaiks innerhalb des Korpus der Dionysosikonographie heraus. Bemerkenswert ist die für den dionysischen Thiasos einmalige Erscheinung von Gabelbecken. Glöckchen und Muscheltrompete — drei Instrumente, die in ptolemäischen Gebieten archäologisch reichlich belegt sind. Die Syrinx ist uns im Triumphzugkontext nur in einem weiterem Fall bekannt, und auch der ist alt-palästinensischer Provenienz (*Abb. 7*).

Obwohl das Zouede-Mosaik mit seiner reichen Ausstattung den römischen Sarkophagen näher als den nordafrikanischen Mosaiken steht, ist der Topos selbst, wie auch sein musikalisch-organologischer Charakter in realistischen Vorbildern ptolemäischer Provenienz verwurzelt. Die wichtigste schriftliche Quelle stammt aus dem hellenistischen Alexandria der Zeit des Ptolemaios II Philadelphos (285–247 v. Chr.). Es ist der Bericht von Kallixeinos von Rhodos, der so einen theatralisierten Triumphzug des Dionysos in seinem unerhörten Glanz als Augenzeuge erlebte:

ήγετο γὰο διὰ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν σταδίου... τῆς δὲ/ Διονυσιαχῆς ποιιτῆς ποῶτοι μὲν προήεσαν οἱ τὸν ὅχλον/ ἀνείψγοντες Σιληνοί [...] τούτοις δ΄ ἐπηκολούθουν Σάτυροι καθ΄ ἕ καστον τοῦ σταδίου μέρος εκοσι, λαμπάδας/ φέροντες κισσίνας διαχρύσους [...] μεθ΄ οῦς Νἶκαι χρυσᾶς/ ἔχουσαι πτέρυγας [...] έτηκολούθουν δ΄ αὐτῷ παίδες ἐν χιτῶσι πορφυροῖς [...] μεθ΄ οῦς Σιληνοὶ δύο ἐν πορφυραϊς/ χλαμύσι καὶ κρηπίσι λευκαῖς [...] είχε δ΄ αὐτῷν ὁ μὲν πέτασον καὶ κηρύκειον χρυσοῦν, ὁ δὲ σάλπυγα [...] μεθ΄ οῦς ἐπορεύετο Φιλίσκος ὁ ποιητής ἰερεὺς ῷν/

Die archäologische Literatur zum Zouede-Mosaik beschränkt sich auf eine nicht immer korrekte Aufzählung der dargestellten Musikinstrumente: "Aulos" statt phrygischer Aulos, "castagnettes" statt Gabelbecken, "Trompete" statt Schellentrompete (Clédat 1915; 26–7); "Flöte" statt Aulos, "Krotale" statt Glocken, "Tamburin" statt Rahmentrommel (Perdrizet 1922; 95–6); "castanets" statt Gabelbecken und Glöckehen, "keras" statt kochlos (Ovadia 1991; 185).

Διονύσου καὶ πάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνῖται [...]/ μετὰ τούτους τετράκυκλος πηχῶν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, ὀκτὼ/ δὲ τὸ πλάτος, ἤγετο ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν,/ ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτης ἐπῆν ἄγαλμα Διονύσου δεκάπηχυ σπένδον/ ἐκ καρχησίου χρυσοῦ [...] περιέκειτο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ σκιὰς ἐκ/ κισσοῦ καὶ ἀμπέλου καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ὀπώρας/ κεκοσμημένη, προσήρτηντο δὲ καὶ στέφανοι καὶ ταινίαι/ καὶ θύρσοι καὶ τύμπανα καὶ μίτραι πρόσωπά τε σατυρικὰ/ καὶ κωμικὰ καὶ τραγικὰ [...] ἔξῆς εἴλκετο ἄλλη/ τετράκυκλος μῆκος πηχῶν εἴκοσι, πλάτος ἐκκαίδεκα, ὑπὸ/ ἀνδρῶν τριακοσίων ἐφ' ἦς κατεσκεύαστο ληνὸς πηχῶν/ εἴκοσι τεσσάρων, πλάτος πεντεκαίδεκα, πλήρης/ σταφυλῆς. ἐπάτουν δὲ ἑξήκοντα Σατύροι πρὸς αὐλὸν/ ἄδοντες μέλος ἐπιλήνιον, ἐφειστήκει δ' αὐτοῖς Σιληνός/ [...] Διόνυσος ἦν δωδεκάπηχυς ἐπ' ἐλέφαντος/ κατακείμενος [...] προεκάθητο δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ τραχήλω/ τοῦ ἐλέφαντος Σατυρίσκος πεντάπηχυς ἐστεφανωμένος/ πίτυος στεφάνῳ χρυσῷ, τῆ δεξιᾳ χειρὶ αἰγείῳ κέρατι/ χρυσῷ σημαίνων [...] μεθ' ἄς χορὸς ἐπόμπευσεν ἀνδρῶν/ ἔξακοσίων· ἐν οἶς κιθαρισταὶ συνεφώνουν τριακόσιοι,/ ἐπιχρύσους ἔχοντες ὅλας κιθάρας καὶ στεφάνους χρυσοῦς [...].8

Es folgten enorme Wagen, goldene Statuen, Weinpressen, Weinbehälter, tausende von Jünglingen, Nymphen, Satyre, Silene, Elephanten, 2000 Stiere, 80 000 Mann Kavallerie und Infanterie, u.s.f. Die Musik begleitete diesen großartigen Zug auf verschiedenen Weisen: Musikinstrumente dienten als Schmuck (Athenaeus: 198d), als Symbol (ebenda: 198a), als Phantasiegegenstand (ebenda: 200d), und als Realien — d.h. zusammengestellt zu gigantischen Orchestern, die Präsentation von Königs- und Götterbildnissen begleitend und aus 60 Satyrn mit Aulos (ebenda: 199a) oder 300 Kitharisten (ebenda: 201f) bestehend.

Glaubenssitten, Zeremonien und Kunststile begannen sich in hellenistischer Zeit sehr zu lockern. Wirtschaftlicher Aufschwung, aktiver Markthandel und zunehmender Wohlstand (Hitti 1957: 295–7; Appelbaum 1977: 369) stimulierten diesen Prozess, der offenbar auch eine "Kommunikationsrevolution" hervorbrachte. Aktive Beziehungen zwischen Alexandria und den nördlicheren Küstenstädten entlang der Via Maris — Gaza, Ascalon, Cäsarea, Acco, Tyrus — und die Verbindung zur syrischen Dekapolis über den "Königsweg", verwandelten die römischen Provinzen Palästina Prima, Secunda und Tertia in einen der wichtigsten Verkehrsknotenpunkte der Alten Welt, den Treffpunkt der ptolemäischen und seleukidischen Kulturen. Der Nahe Osten war auch vom Hellenismus bis in die Spätantike und zu den Anfängen des Islam ein Weltzentrum musikalischer Aktivität und Exporteur verschiedenartiger Kultur- und Kunsterscheinungen. Von hier stammten die mit Musik verbundenen Mysterienkulte und verschiede-

[Der Aufzug] wurde im Stadtzentrum abgehalten [...] An der Spitze der dionysischen Prozession marschierten die Silene, die die Menge zurückhielten [...] Diesen folgten gleich die Satyre, zwanzig an jedem Ende des Stadiums, die Fackeln trugen mit goldenem Efeu geschmückt. Nach ihnen kamen Viktorien mit goldenen Flügeln [...] Danach kamen hundertzwanzig Jünglinge in Purpurtuniken [...] Danach folgten zwei Silene in purpurnen Reitanzüge und weißen Schuhen. Einer von ihnen hatte einen Hut mit weitem Rand an und hielt einen goldenen Stab, der andere — eine Salpinx [...] Danach marschierten der Dichter Philiscus, der ein Dionysospriester war, und die ganze Gilde der Dionysoskünstler [...] Nach diesen kam ein vierrädriger Wagen, einundzwanzig Fuß lang und zwölf Fuß breit, den hundertachzig Männer zogen; in dem stand eine Statue von Dionysos, fünfzehn Fuß groß, eine Trankspende aus goldenem Pokal gießend [...] Über ihm war ein Baldachin aufgerichtet mit Efeu, Weintrauben und Früchten dekoriert, von dem Kränze, Bänder, bacchische Stäbe, Tympana, Tücher, satyrische, komische und tragische Masken hingen [...] Dann folgte noch ein vierrädriger Wagen, dreißig Fuß lang, vierundzwanzig Fuß breit, von dreihundert Mann gezogen; in ihm stand eine Weinpreße, sechsunddreißig Fuß lang, zweiundzwanzigeinhalb Fuß breit, voll mit Weintrauben. Und sechzig Satyre begleiteten sie, ein Weinleselied singend unter Aulosbegleitung, und ein Silen leitete sie [...] In einem anderen Wagen, welcher die Rückkehr Dionysos von Indien darstellte, war ein Dionysos, achtzehn Fuß groß, [zu sehen] auf dem Rücken eines Elefanten liegend [...] Vor ihm, auf dem Genick des Elefanten saß ein siebenundhalb Fuß großer Satyr mit einem Goldkranz von Pinienzapfen gekrönt, der in der rechten Hand ein goldenes Bockshorn hielt, als ob er mit ihm ein Signal bliese [...] Nach ihnen marschierte ein Choros sechshundert Mann stark; zwischen ihnen waren dreihundert musizierende Kitharisten, die völlig vergoldete Kitharai trugen und goldene Kronen anhatten [...] (Athenaeus V: 197c, e und f, 198b, c und d, 199a, 200d und 201f; Übersetzung des Autors).

nen Theaterformen, von hier wanderten unzählige Kultmusiker (Baudot 1973: 47–55; Braun 1995) in die Welt. Überall im Römischen Reich waren nahöstliche Mimen, Tänzer, Unterhaltungs- und Tanzmusiker gesucht (Hitti 1957: 301; Mommsen 1909: II, 131–3). Juvenal, der römische Satiriker des ersten Jahrhunderts, spricht vom nahöstlichen Musikexport wie von einer lang bekannten historischen Tatsache (Juvenalis: III, 58-65):

Quae nunc divitibus gens acceptissima nostris et quos praecipue fugiam, properabo fateri, nec pudor obstabit. Non possum ferre, Quirites, Graecam urbem. Quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei? Iam pridem Syrus in Tiberium defluxit Orontes, et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas obliquas nec non gentilia tympana secum vexit et ad circum iussas prostare puellas.⁹

Die musikalische — vokale und instrumentale — Begabung der Bewohner der phönizischen Küste war im römischen Reich weit und breit bekannt und wird öfters erwähnt (Athenaeus: XV, 697). Die palästinensischen hellenistischen Städte hatten eine reiche, lokale Musikkultur, die internationales Renommé besaß. Ein Anonymus des vierten Jahrhundert berichtet uns über die künstlerischen Tätigkeiten der alt-palästinensischen Küstenstädte (Müller 1882: 519):

Ecce similiter Laodicia circenses et Tyrus et Berytus et Caesarea; sed Laodicia mittit aliis civitatibus agitatores optimos, Tyrus et Berytus mimarios, Caesarea pantomimos, Heliopolis choraulas maxime, quod a Libano Musae illis inspirent divinitatem dicendi. aliquando autem et Gaza habet bonos auditores [...] Ascalon athletas luctatores, Castabetia calopettas.¹⁰

Für uns ist von besonderem Interesse, daß Gaza, die Landschaft des Zouede-Mosaiks, sich nicht nur während vieler Jahrhunderte ihrer Weinproduktion rühmen konnte (Hitti 1957: 353), nicht nur im fünften und sechsten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert weltberühmte Philosophen und Schriftsteller hervorbrachte (Sozomene 1983; Downey 1963), und möglicherweise im vierten und fünften Jahrhundert ihre eigene Mosaikwerkstatt besaß, sondern auch mit ihren Musiker ruhmreich war.

Man muß selbstverständlich in Betracht ziehen, daß die Blüte von Musik, Tanz und Theater in jener Gegend nicht eine momentane Erscheinung sein konnte, sondern nur Resultat einer jahrhundertlangen Entwicklung. Gaza muß schon im dritten, sicher aber im zweiten Jahrhundert v. Chr. eine bemerkenswerte Musikschule gehabt haben. Diese Musikpflege von Gaza hatte zweifellos einen stimulierenden Einfluß auf die lokalen Bildkünstler. Sie hatten ihre Vorbilder, ihre Modelle und ihre eigene musikalische Erfahrung.

Im Zusammenhang mit dem Triumphzugthema besitzen wir auch eine ziemlich seltene Textquelle, die ein Beispiel kultureller Substitution bei völliger Änderung des Kontextes und der Bedeutung,

- Welche Leute sind heute am meisten akzeptiert bei den Reichen, und welche meide ich am meisten. Ich sage es ohne mich zu schämen. Römer, ich kann die griechische Stadt nicht leiden. Wie groß ist schon der Bevölkerungsanteil der Griechen (Achäer) selber? Schon seit Zeiten fließt der syrische Orontes in die Wasser des Tiber und bringt mit sich seine Sprache und seine Sitten, seine Pfeifen und schrägen Saiten, und vergessen wir nicht seine einheimischen Tympana und die Mädchen, die sich prostituieren lassen! (Für die liebenswürdige Hilfe bei der Übersetzung dieser und der folgenden lateinischen Textstellen bin ich Professor R. Katzov, Universität Bar-Ilan, und Professor T. Seebaß, dankbar.)
- 10 Ladicäa, Berytas, Tyrus und Cäsarea haben auch verschiedene Rassen. Ladicäa sendet ausgezeichnete Jockeys ins Ausland. Tyrus und Berytas Schauspieler, Cäsarea Pantomimen, Heliopolis, von den Musen auf dem Libanon mit der Gabe der Weissagung gesegnet, viele Auletinnen. Gaza hat gute Musiker [...]. Ascalon hat gute Athleten, [...] Kastabethia Krieger.

jedoch ohne spürbarer Änderung der habituellen Spielformen liefert: Ein ähnliches "Triumphgespann" wie das dionysische erscheint nämlich in anderem Kontext und mit anderer Deutung — als Brautzug — im ersten Makkabäerbuch 9:39 (zweites bis drittes Jahrhundert) bei der Hochzeitsbeschreibung des nabatäischen Reichen von Nebo:

Καὶ ἦραν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἴδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ θροῦς, καὶ ἀποσκευὴ πολλὴ, καὶ ὁ νυμφίος ἐξῆλθε καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτῶν μετὰ τυμπάνων, καὶ μουσικῶν, καὶ ὅπλων πολλῶν. Η

Dieser interkulturelle Austausch von Sitten ist auch in den palästinensischen jüdischen Hochzeitszügen merkbar. Die letzteren werden auf Grund talmudischer Überlieferungen der vespasianisch-trajanischen Zeit (erstes/zweites Jahrhundert)¹² von Shmuel Safrai folgendermaßen beschrieben (Safrai und Stern 1974: 758):

The bride's preparation consisted mainly of bathing, perfuming and anointing, and the arrangement of a complicated array of clothes and adornments. This completed, she was seated in a decorated carriage and, crowned with a wreath, driven through the main streets of the town to the accompaniment of song, dance, musical instruments and applause. When the bride was a virgin, it was customary for her to wear her hair loose.

Die genaue Datierung des Zouede-Mosaiks ist umstritten. Sie wird vom Entdecker Jean Clédat an das Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts gesetzt (Clédat 1915: 17), während eine Stilanalyse von Paul Perdrizet sie in die Zeit des Übergangs vom dritten zum vierten Jahrhundert rückt (Perdrizet 1922: 94). Doro Levi meint in einer beiläufigen Bemerkung, daß eine vorkonstantinische Datierung nicht möglich sei (Levi 1947: I 73, No. 32). Eine weitere Studie führt stilistische Gründe für eine Datierung auf das Ende des vierten and Anfang des fünften Jahrhunderts an (Borda 1958: 370). Die neueste und bis jetzt vollständigste Besprechung durch Ascher Ovadia (Ovadia 1991: 190) schließt sich dieser späten Datierung an.

Die musikalisch-organologischen Aspekte des Zouede-Mosaiks in Betracht nehmend, neige ich zu einer vor-byzantischen Datierung (dritte bis erste Hälfte des vierten Jahrhunderts). Dafür sprechen:

- 1. der archäologische Kontext, auf den Jean Clédat hinwies;
- die Quellen des Themas, das auf die vorchristliche ptolemäische Kultur wörtlich zurückgeht;
- 3. die Stadtkultur des römischen Gaza, das mindestens seit dem zweiten Jahrhundert ein Zentrum hoher künstlerischer, besonders aber musikalischer Aktivität war;
- 4. die Tatsache, daß Scheich Zouedes Mosaik in seinem dionysisch-musikalischen Teil kein bekanntes Vorbild zu haben scheint; und
- 11 Als sie ihre Augen erhoben und ausschauten, siehe da, ein großer, lärmender Zug. Der Bräutigam mit seinen Freunden und Verwandten kam heraus, ihnen entgegen mit Pauken (*tympana*), Saitenspiel (Musikinstrumenten) und vielen Waffen (zitiert nach deutschen Ausgabe der *Jerusalem Bibel*, 13. Auflage, Freiburg, Basel und Wien: Herder, 1968).
- 12 Von besonderem Interesse sind in diesem Zusammenhang folgende Passagen: "Im vespasianischen Krieg verbot man die Bräutigamskrone und die Handtrommel (*aeros*). Im Krieg des Titus verbot man die Brautkronen und daß man seinen Sohn das Griechische lehre. Im letzten Kriege verordnete man, daß die Braut nicht in einer Sänfte durch die Stadt ziehe. Unsere Lehrer aber haben es gestattet, daß die Braut in einer Sänfte durch die Stadt ziehe." (Mischna, Sota IX: 14; Übersetzung des Autors). "Als R. Dime kam, sagte er: Im Westen singen sie vor der Braut wie folgt: Kein Stibium, keine Schminke und keine Frisur, und doch eine anmutige Gazelle." (Babylonischer Talmud, Kethubot II, Fol. 17; Übersetzung des Autors).



7. Bronzensarkophagfragment. École Biblique, Jerusalem. – Photo: Archäologische Sammlung (erste Veröffentlichung)

5. die Darstellung der Musikinstrumente, die nicht als eine archaisierende Stilisierung, sondern als eine möglichst korrekte, soweit die Mosaiktechnik dies erlaubt, getreue Wiedergabe der Musikpraxis des römischen Palästinas des ersten bis dritten Jahrhunderts verstanden werden muß.

Zwei andere Belege gelten ebenfalls dem Triumphzugthema: der erste vollständig, der zweite teilweise. Auf einem bronzenen Sarkophagfragment (64 x 40 cm) unbekannter Provenienz (Abb. 7/8)13 sehen wir den sitzenden Dionysos im Wagen mit hoher Rücklehne. Zwei musizierende Kentauren ziehen den Wagen und werden von einem kleinen reitenden Eros angetrieben. Dieses, dem Zouede-Mosaik so verwandte Gespann (sitzender Dionysos, musizierende Kentauren und Eros) kann man als einen charakteristischen alt-palästinensischen Topos betrachten. Die Dionysosszene ist hier von einem gewundenen Schnurornament eingerahmt. Dieses Ornament ist von anderen Bron-zesarkophagen her gut bekannt (Avi-Yonah 1981: 214 und 234-5, Fig. 2, Taf. 31b, 32 und 34). Michael Avi-Yonah bezeichnet diese Sarkophage als typische Produlate lokalen Handwerks und datiert sie in die Kaiserzeit (ebenda 223), d. h. erstes bis viertes Jahrhundert. Die Zugehörigkeit unseres Sarkophagfragments zur regionalen Kunst wird im gewißem Maße einerseits durch die erwähnte typologische Verwandschaft der Sarkophag- und Zouede-Szenen als Ganzes, wie auch durch die zwei dargestellten Musikinstrumente im Besonderen bestätigt: die Panpfeife ist dem palästinensischen AB-Bastardtyp, oder AA-Typ nahe (Haas 1985: 127), und die mit einem großen Plektrum gespielte Leier, fügt sich der örtlichen Leierikonographie ein (Braun 1994: Taf. 2).

¹³ Für den Hinweis und die Photographien des bisher unveröffentlichten Bronzesarkophagfragments der École Biblique, Jerusalem, danke ich Prof. Dr. Jean-Baptiste Humber (École Biblique, Jerusalem).



8. Wie Abb. 7, Detail: Dionysos sitzend im Kentaurgespann

Der letzte Beleg ist der neue sensationelle Fund von 1987, ein Mosaikfußboden von seltener Meisterschaft und Schönheit in Sepphoris, oder Zippori (Meyers et al. 1987; idem., 1988; Anonymus 1988; Telgam und Weiss 1988; Meyers et al. 1992; Miller 1992).¹⁴

Sepphoris liegt in Galiläa, einige Kilometer von Nazareth entfernt und wird von Josephus Flavius (Flavius 1923: II, 18, 11) und anderen antiken Autoren erwähnt. Auch dieses Mosaik stammt aus dem großen Haus eines Reichen, das direkt neben dem örtlichen Theater stand. Laut der Meinung der Archäologen kann das Gebäude einem Römer oder einem hellenisierten Juden gehört haben (Meyers et al. 1987: 231). In diesem Wohnhaus, das in das dritte Jahrhundert datiert wird (ebenda), wurden wahrscheinlich dionysische Mysterien veranstaltet, wie es öfters in solchen reichen Privathäusern der Fall war (Horn 1972: 127). Zu dieser Zeit erlebte Sepphoris, eine Stadt mit gemischter römischer, jüdischer und christlicher Bevölkerung, einen allseitigen Aufschwung, und war, obwohl Flavius sehr starke prorömische Tendenzen hier hervorhebt (Flavius JK: III, 133–3), Zentrum jüdisch-geistiger Aktivität (Safrai und Stern II 1976: 684 und 687). Im Unterschied zu den früher erwähnten Belegen lehnt sich das Sepphoris-Mosaik an die seleukidische Kultur an und hat Parallelen in den antiochenischen Meisterwerken (z. B. im Dionysos-Herakles Trinkwettbewerb im Atriumhaus, Levi II 1947: Taf. Ia). Wie stilistisch und semantisch verschieden das Sepphoris-Mosaik vom Zouede-Mosaik ist, kann man schematisch folgenderweise skizzieren:

¹⁴ Für die Photographien des Sepphoris-Mosaiks bin ich Prof. Dr. Yehud Netzer (Hebräische Universität, Jerusalem) und Prof. Dr. Eric Meyers (Duke University, Durham) sehr dankbar.

	ZOUEDE-MOSAIK	SEPPHORIS-MOSAIK
STIL	afrikanisch-römisch	antiochisch-griechisch
TOPOS	monothematisch mit Kontaminationen	multithematisch
CHARAKTER	orgiastisch-heidnisch	pastoral mit Elementen von Christianisierung
MUSIK- INSTRUMENTE	sieben Typen, organologisch-regional	zwei Typen, organologisch-griechisch
AULOS-TYP	phrygischer Aulos	gerader Doppelaulos
FUNKTION DER INSTRUMENTE	Aufführung, symbolisch	Aufführung

Von den fünfzehn dionysischen Feldern, die ein Rechteck (3.2 x 1,65 m) bilden, und der Uförmigen Einrahmung auf der Südseite sind fünf Bilder mit Musikinstrumenten erhalten. Drei Szenen sind bekannte Musiktopoi der Dionysiaca: der Trinkwettbewerb zwischen Herakles und Dionysos mit einem Doppelaulos blasenden Satyr (*Abb. 9*); der Triumphzug des Dionysos ("POMPI"), in dem ein anderer Satyr denselben Aulostyp bläst (*Abb. 10*), und "DORESORI", die Überreichung von Gaben mit einem den Doppelaulos blasenden Kentaur und einer das Tympanum schlagenden Mänade (*Abb. 11*). Die zwei anderen Musikszenen sind seltenere Erscheinungen im Dionysoskontext: der "KOMOS" (*Abb. 12*) und eine Prozession (Opferzug?), ohne mythische Vorlage (*Abb. 13*). In beiden Fällen sehen wir musizierende Frauen, die denselben Doppelaulos blasen, der auch in anderen Feldern vorkommt.

Der Komos, ein Begriff, der in seiner Ganzheit noch nicht völlig gefaßt ist (es besteht nur eine monographische Behandlung dieses griechisch-römischen Rituals, und auch die begrenzt sich auf das sechste vorchristliche Jahrhundert), wird als Umzug nach dem Symposium, "fröhlicher, lärmender Umzug Betrunkener" bezeichnet (Pauly-Wissowa 1922: 1286, 1288–9; LAW: 1583), oft mit der Teilnahme von tanzenden dickbäuchigen Satyren (DeMarini 1961: 382), der auch Musik, Gesang und Tanz einschließen kann. Die vorhandenen bildlichen Darstellungen zeigen wirklich mit "ermüdender Gleichförmigkeit" (Pauly-Wissowa 1922: 1291) ähnliche Handlungen. Für die Erscheinung einer Komosszene auf dem Sepphoris-Mosaik ist die syrischseleukidische Gebundenheit dieses Rituals von Bedeutung, das noch für die Zeit der Entstehung des Mosaiks belegt ist: Baal-Schamin, das "Haupt der Götter" wurde im vierten/ fünften Jahrhundert "mit Tamburin und Horn öffentlich in Nisibis herumgeführt" (Bickermann 1937: 114). Das theatralische Element im Komos ist so gut wie bewiesen, und die Bedeutung des Komos in der Entstehung des Dramas ist ganz eindeutig (Greifenhagen 1929: 64-8; Pickard-Cambridge 1962: 132). Dagegen ist die Mitwirkung von Aulos oder Leier nicht immer belegt. Einige Quellen deuten sogar darauf hin, daß Komos "ohne Aulosspiel" den Bereich der Tragödie berührt und Verwüstung oder Katastrophe bedeutet (Guepin 1968: 44). Sollte dann Komos mit Aulosspiel Lebensfreude und Kreativität symbolisieren? Und wie soll dann unsere Komosszene, die weder Trunkenheit, noch einen Umzug, noch ein Gelage zeigt, interpretiert werden? Die Archäologen sehen in dieser Sepphorisszene, an der zwei Mänaden und ein Satyr teilnehmen, einzig "the 'joy' [...] of the Dionysiac rituals" (Meyers 1992: 46). 15

¹⁵ Hier, wie an anderen Stellen, wird der Doppelaulos von den Archäologen unzutreffend als "double flute" bezeichnet (Meyers et al. 1992: 44, 46, 47, 48).



9. Mosaik-Fußboden eines Gebäudes aus Sepphoris. Detail: Trinkwettbewerb zwischen Herakles und Dionysos. Israel Museum, Jerusalem. – Photo: Zeev Radovan; courtesy Joint Sepphoris Project



10. Wie Abb. 9, Detail: Dionysos sitzend im Kentaurengespann



11. Wie Abb. 9, Detail: Überrreichung von Gaen "Deresori"



12. Wie Abb. 9, Detail: Komos-Szene

Eine im Aufbau sehr ähnliche Szene finden wir auf einem Sousse-Mosaik, das Virgil mit zwei Musen darstellt (Dumbabin 1978, Abb. 130). Könnten wir dann unsere höchst ungewöhnliche Komosszene als Allegorie der Entstehung von Mysteria, eines Dramas verstehen, personifiziert als Dichterin, die von einer den Aulos blasenden Muse (Euterpe?) und einer Gestalt mit Stab (Dionysos selber?) inspiriert wird?

Die Prozession, die das Aulosspiel in lebenstreuer Umgebung zu schildern scheint, zeigt Männer und Frauen, die Obstkörbe, Geflügel, einen Dreifuß und andere Gegenstände in einem Opferzug (?) tragen.

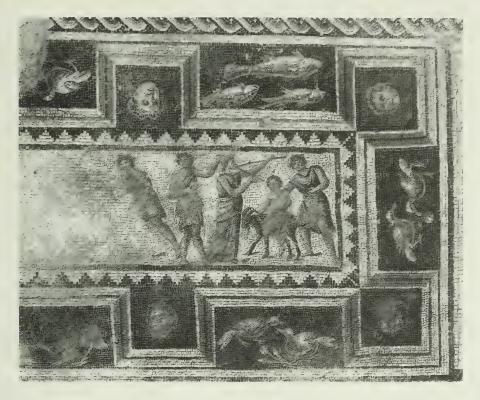
Das Blasinstrument, das konsequent auf allen fünf Musikfeldern erscheint, ist nun nicht mehr der phrygische Aulos, wie auf dem Mosaik Zouedes, sondern ein gerader Doppelaulos, eigentlich eine Doppeltibia mit ungleich langen Röhren (65 bzw. 75 cm). Von besonderem Interesse sind die Instrumente der Triumphszene, des Trinkwettbewerbs und des Komos: hier sind Aulos und Spielposition mit besonderer Sorgfalt dargestellt. Auf beiden Röhren dieser Doppeltibia sehen wir zweifach gestaltete Vorrichtungen, die vom Zouede-Mosaik her bekannten, Tförmigen keras, mit denen bestimmte Tonlöcher verschlossen und Timbre und Modus verändert werden konnten (Becker 1966: 137–42; Marcuse 1975: 658), und cornicula, d.h. längere, in verschiedene Richtungen herausragende, offenbar rohrförmig gestaltete Pflöcke, die nur die Klangfarbe änderten (Becker 1966: 143, Abb. 53–5; Parlasca 1959: Taf. 46, 1; Marcuse 1975: 658). Die Zahl der keras und cornicula reicht von einem bis sieben. Es scheint, daß sie auf einigen Szenen von der Hand des Spielers verdeckt werden. Auf anderen sieht man sie nicht nur auf der unteren Hälfte des Instruments, sondern auch auf der oberen (zwischen Finger und Mundstück). Beides könnte, im Gegensatz zu Beckers Behauptung (Becker 1966: 143), eine Möglichkeit des Gebrauchs dieser Vorrichtungen während des Spielens zulassen.

Karl Gustav Fellerer betrachtet diese Doppelaulosform mit den Vorrichtungen zur Änderung von Modus und Timbre auf beiden Pfeifen als die am weitesten fortgeschrittene und modernste Form, die nicht vor dem zweiten/dritten Jahrhundert auftritt (1956: 68).

Die beiden Instrumente von Sepphoris — Doppelaulos und Rahmentrommel — weisen im Gegensatz zu den Zouede-Instrumenten keine regionalen Merkmale auf, sondern lehnen sich an Instrumentendarstellungen der griechisch-römischen Metropole und seleukidischer Gebiete an. Das könnte auf einen ausländischen (antiochischen?) Mosaikkünstler in Sepphoris hinweisen.

Die einheitlich geringe Zahl der Musikinstrumente und die völlige Abwesenheit von Idiophonen schafft eine viel ruhigere, ich würde sagen, pastorale Atmosphäre, im Gegensatz zur orgiastischen Zouedes. Man kann zudem sowohl beim Triumphzug (*Abb. 10*) wie bei der Prozession (*Abb. 13*; Telgam und Weiss 1988: 96) Elemente einer Christianisierung und Judaisierung der Dionysosikonographie beobachten (siehe z.B. den Heiligenschein um Dionysos, den Esel mit Reiter, oder das Hahnopfer). Ikonographische Mischformen heidnischer, jüdischer und christlicher Elemente sind keine ungewöhliche Erscheinung in palästinensisch-syrischen Grenzgebieten. Ich erinnere als prominentes Beispiel nur an die Dura-Europus Synagoge mit der David-Orpheus Wandzeichnung und den dionysischen Attributen (Goodenough 1964: IX, 95 und XI, Abb. 74). Das Grundkonzept von Erwin R. Goodenough, daß jede der drei Hauptgruppen des römischen Palästinas — Heiden, Juden und Christen — die gleichen Symbole verschieden interpretiert, muß hinsichtlich jüdisch-römischer Akkulturationsprozesse sogar der kritische Morton Smith akzeptieren (1967: 61). Das Beispiel von Sepphoris — weder Goodenough, noch Smith bekannt — scheint zu bestätigen, daß Goodenoughs Standpunkt höchstens als überspitzt bezeichnet werden kann, aber gewiß nicht als "fantasy" oder "an enormous exaggeration" (ebenda, 65).

Ein bewundernswertes Frauenportät (von Archäologen mit dem Übernamen "Mona Lisa aus Galiläa" bedacht, Meyers 1987: 229), in einem der Medaillons, die die Dionysosszenen umrah-



13. Wie Abb. 9, Detail: Prozession (Opferzug?)

men, ist völlig intakt erhalten (*Abb. 14*). Es scheint das ganze Kunstwerk zu überschauen. Der Realismus des Porträts ist so überraschend, daß man nicht umhin kann, ein lebensgetreues Porträt zu vermuten. Die Dame könnte die reiche Inhaberin des Hauses sein; sie könnte eine der Bacchantinnen oder eine der Aulosspielerinnen sein. Bestimmt aber — wenn es sich wirklich um eine echte Person handeln sollte — war sie eine der aufgeklärten Frauen des vierten Jahrhunderts, der weder der dionysische Kult, noch christlicher und jüdischer Glaube fremd waren. Vorzüglich huldigte sie aber der Liebe zur Kunst, Musik und der Lebensfreude.

Es war eine höchst heterogene Bevölkerung, die damals in Alt-Palästina an den dionysischen Aufzügen und Mysterien teilnahm und die sich an bildlichen Darstellungen dieses Themas erfreute. Regionale Gottheiten der Nabatäer, Philister und Phönizier inkorporierten gewisse dionysische Elemente (z. B. der nabatäische Duschares-Dionysos, Hammond 1973: 96).

Oft ist es unmöglich festzustellen, ob wir es mit einer griechischen Interpretation einer levantinischen Gottheit oder einer lokalen Adaption griechischer Gottheiten zu tun haben (Safrai-Stern 1976: II, 1085). Besonders stark waren römisch-jüdisch-christliche Tendenzen in Sepphoris, die hier auch archäologisch belegt sind (Anonymus 1988: 33). Hellenistische Tendenzen in jüdischen Teilen der Bevölkerung, vorzüglich in intellektuellen Kreisen, die eine Reformation anstrebten, sind öfters in zeitgenössischen Quellen belegt (1 Mak 1:11). Nicht nur Gymnasium und Sportkämpfe (2 Mak 4:11) waren populär, sondern auch der dionysische Kult als offizielle Staatsreligion und willkommener Kulturfaktor der Assimilation und zur Pflege des gesellschaftlichen Status (Hengel 1974: I, 294–302). In gewissem Maße wurde der heidnische Kultus sogar von den jüdischen, geistigen und geistlichen Führern zugelassen. "Syncretism, or *shituf*, as the rabbis



14. Wie Abb. 9, Detail: Frauenporträt

called this recognition of plural divine control of the cosmos, was widespread" (Bickermann 1988: 252–3). In Ägypten gab es viele Juden mit Namen Dionysos, und Belege über Zahlungen von Juden für die Dionysosfeste in Jerusalem sind bekannt (ebenda; Tcherikover 1957: I, 29). Andererseits aber stand dieser Kult im Zentrum griechisch-jüdischer Konflikte. Das zweite Buch Makkabäer (6:7) berichtet, daß beim Dionysosfest die Juden gezwungen wurden an der Prozession zu Ehren Dionysos' teilzunehmen und Efeu zu tragen. Im Jahre 167 v. Chr. wurde der jüdische Tempel in Jerusalem durch eine Dionysoszeremonie entweiht.

Für unsere Betrachtungen scheint es von Bedeutung, daß beim Vergleich jüdischer ritueller Bräuche mit den dionysischen antike Schriftsteller gerade den musikalischen Teil der Zeremonie hervorheben. So berichtet Plutarch in seinen Quaestiones Convivales (6:2, 104–10):

[...] ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ήμέραις ἄλλην ἑορτήν, οὐκ ἄν δι' αἰνιγμάτων ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς Βάκχου καλουμένην, τελοῦσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ κραδηφορία τις ἑορτή καὶ θυρσοφορία παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐν ἡ θύρσους ἔχοντες εἰς τὸ ὶερὸν εἰσίασιν· εἰσελθόντες δ' ὅτι δρῶσιν, οὐκ ἴσμεν, εἰκὸς δὲ βακχείαν εἶναι τὰ ποιούμενα· καὶ γὰρ σάλπιγξι μικραῖς, ώσπερ 'Αργεῖοι τοῖς Διονυσίοις, ἀνακαλούμενοι τὸν θεὸν ξῶνται, καὶ κιθαρίζοντες ἔτεροι πορἵασιν. οῦς αὐτοὶ Λευὶτας προσονομάζουσιν. Ιδ

Auch die Kleidung des jüdischen Hohenpriesters, der die Prozession anführt, seinen langen Mantel mit den vielen kleinen Glocken, die klingeln, wenn er dahinschreitet (vgl. Ex 28: 33–4)

Wenige Tage hernach feiern sie ein anderes [Fest], das nicht mehr auf eine versteckte Art, sondern ganz offen dem Bacchus geweiht ist. Man könnte es Kradephoria oder Thyrsophoria nennen, weil sie mit Palmzweigen und Thyrsusstäben in den Tempel gehen. Was sie da tun, wissen wir nicht; es läßt sich aber vermuten, daß sie da eine Art von Bacchusfeier halten. Denn sie bedienen sich wie die Argeer an ihren Dionysien, kleiner Trompeten, um den Gott anzurufen. Andere spielen, wenn sie herauskommen, die Kithara, und diese nennen sie Leviten (Übersetzung des Autors).

und das Trommelspiel im Tempel (durch keine jüdische Quellen bestätigt) sieht Plutarch als Parallele zum Dionysosritual (Plutarch 6:1, 120–8).

Auch Tacitus erwähnt die Musik der jüdischen Feste, bei denen die Priester zur Begleitung von Tibia und Tympanum ihre Psalmen sangen und ihn damit an den dionysischen Charakter des Festes denken ließen (Tacitus 1962: V, 5):

Sed quia sacerdotes eorum tibia tympanisque concinebant, hedera vinciebantur vitisque aurea in templi reperta, Liberum patrem coli, domitorem Orientis, quidam arbitrati sunt, nequaquam congruentibus institutis.¹⁷

Von jüdischer Seite ist eine Quelle erhalten, die von einem Ritual berichtet, das scheinbar nur Gesang und Tanz einbezog (obwohl das nicht endgültig geklärt ist), und beim Autor des Zeugnisses erläuternde Assoziationen mit bacchantischer und ekstatischer Verzückung hervorriefen. Es ist die Schrift des Philo von Alexandria über die Therapeuten, eine kleine jüdische Sekte, die sich für kurze Zeit unweit von Alexandria etablierte. Philo berichtet von ritualen Vigilien mit einem Mahl und mit doppelchörigem Hymnengesang (mit und ohne Tanz), der Prozessionen und Libationen begleitete. Es geht aus dem Text nicht ganz klar hervor, ob das bacchische Weintrinken und das ekstatische Singen und Tanzen von Frauen und Männer allegorisch gemeint ist, oder auch einen realistischen Zug hat (Philo 1963: 80–9).

Gewiß kann man öfters Parallelen im "musikalischen Benehmen" verschiedener ethnosozialer Gruppen finden, und sie haben nicht unbedingt eine Kulturgemeinschaft zu bedeuten. Doch bei der geographischen und chronologischen Konzentration, die wir in Alt-Palästina vor uns haben, muß man schon ein Maß von Musiksynkretismus zulassen. Wir können mit Gewißheit sagen, daß die Mannigfaltigkeit der mit dem Dionysoskult verbundenen Quellen die Komplexität des gesellschaftlichen Musiklebens des römischen Palästina widerspiegeln. In wiefern diese Landschaft in musikalischer Hinsicht nicht nur ein Ort der Vermittlung, sondern auch Zentrum einer Ausstrahlung neuer synkretischer Musikkultur war, ist beim heutigen Forschungsbestand kaum möglich zu sagen.

¹⁷ Da aber ihre Priester zur Begleitung von Pfeifen und Becken sangen und Kränze von Efeu trugen, und da goldener Wein in ihrem Tempel gefunden wurde, dachte man, daß sie Anbeter des Liber pater, des Eroberers des Orients, seien, ungeachtet der Widersinnigkeit ihrer Sitten (Übersetzung des Autors).

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Music-related imagery on early Christian insular sculpture: identification, context, function*

Ann Buckley

1. Introduction

1.1. History and distribution of the monuments

The monuments surveyed in this paper represent a period of intense activity in stone carving between the eighth and tenth centuries in north Britain and Ireland. The earliest surviving Christian monuments are not precisely dateable though they exist in wide variety in different regions of these islands. The oldest Irish examples are the so-called "ogam stones" — pillars with their edges carved in notches representing letters of the ogam alphabet. This alphabet, consisting of twenty letters, is thought to be based on the Latin alphabet of the later Roman Empire. The inscriptions usually contain simple references to individuals: "[The stone of] X son of Y", or simply a name; they were thus commemorative monuments. Such stones are found also in Britain in those areas colonized by the Irish at the end of the Roman period: southwest Wales and Dumnonia, north Wales, as well as the Isle of Man and Dalriada, western Scotland. While it is not now possible to ascertain whether they were used by non-Christians as well as Christians, the stones span the period of conversion to Christianity (early fifth to seventh centuries) and those with Christian associations provide the earliest identifiable evidence for Christianity in Ireland (Edwards 1990: 103ff.). Some bear incised crosses, while a large number of other cross-carved stones and pillars also survive which served as grave-markers and, perhaps, as a focus for worship, an area of sanctuary, or as boundary markers (*ibidem*: 161).

It is impossible to establish a chronology for these monuments because of lack of detailed information: the oldest surviving examples span the sixth to eighth centuries, but some cross-incised stones are dateable to as late as the early tenth century, by which time the free-standing sculptured crosses were in their mature period of construction. It was formerly believed that the slabs were predecessors to the free-standing crosses, but in view of their continued erection in certain parts of Ireland (the northwest in particular) this hypothesis of unilinear development can no longer be accepted. Hence they seem to represent regional stylistic preferences rather than a continuous chronological link (see Edwards 1990: 162b–3a). Regional distinction is also a feature of monuments in parts of north Britain, the free-standing cross being a prominent feature in Argyll, southwest Scotland, and Northumbria, while in the Pictish areas to the north and east, cross slabs seem to have been particularly cultivated, i.e. stone slabs with a cross in relief on one side, and carved features in the surrounding area and usually also on the reverse.

^{*} A version of this paper was presented at the eleventh RIdIM meeting in Hamburg (21–24 August 1991). It has been developed from an earlier article on the Irish sources which focused primarily on organological problems (see Buckley 1990). I am grateful to Dr. Isabel Henderson for her guidance on some of the current debates within Insular art history, and for her generosity in reading and commenting on this text. Any errors which may remain are entirely my own.

¹ The most recent survey of the subject is in McManus 1991.

The large free-standing cross may have been first developed in Northumbria, and thence to Scotland and Ireland (Edwards 1990: 163).² Its presence in Britain and Ireland may have resulted from contact with the Middle East. The pilgrim, Arculf, visited the Holy Land and Constantinople in the 680s. He subsequently met Adomnán, ninth abbot of the monastery of Iona (679–704) and biographer of Columba (*ca.* 521–7), its founder. Arculf described the buildings which he saw at Jerusalem and sketched a plan on a waxed tablet, including a tall wooden cross to mark the place of Christ's Baptism and a silver cross set in a base on the site called Golgotha.³ The story and diagram were recorded by Adomnán in his book on the Holy Places and appear related to existing practice; it has further been suggested that the stepped base on the free-standing stone crosses may have been intended to represent the steps up the hill at Golgotha. Literary sources provide evidence for the existence of wooden crosses in seventh-century Ireland both at the wayside and in order to mark burial sites (Hamlin 1987). References also exist to the placing of wooden crosses in Northumbria, northeast England, by St Oswald *ca.* 635 — Oswald had spent some time on Iona — and by St Cuthbert at his hermitage on the Farne Islands off the Northumbrian coast.

Models for the cross symbols and associated Christian themes were probably introduced also on portable objects from Continental Europe and the Mediterranean region over a long period. And it is likely that at least some of the representations on crosses which survive today were copied from slab art, as is suggested from current study of slabs in Ireland, some of which show influence from Byzantine and Ravennate sources (e.g. Fahan Mura, Co. Donegal). According to current opinion, they date from some time in the eighth century, but may manifest the influence of seventh-century models.

Stones bearing ringed crosses in relief and other biblical imagery are found predominantly in Pictish areas of northern and eastern Scotland. Many of these show direct influence from Northumbrian religious art and further afield, Northumbria being the main channel for influence from the south, particularly Canterbury, the gateway for traffic to and from the continent.

The ringed cross — often referred to in modern times as Celtic — seems to represent a western adaptation which may have first appeared in Iona, or perhaps in the east midlands of Ireland. It is not possible to be conclusive on the basis of surviving evidence and the intractable problems associated with attempts to date the crosses. However, surviving evidence for the typical ringed cross is found in an arc reaching from the Inner Hebrides in southwest Scotland through to the southeast of Ireland, and it may have developed somewhere within this greater region before 800 A.D. (De Paor 1987: 149–50). The fact that it is still found primarily in the so-called Celtic areas has led to the conclusion that its distribution did not reach other Insular regions. However, there is need for caution in making any assumptions *e silentio*.

The origin of the characteristic ring is a matter of much speculation. One of the theories is that its function was structural, as in the case of St John's Cross, Iona which was constructed before 800, first without the ring but subsequently fitted with one in order to repair damage following a fall (RCAHMS 1982: 14). On the other hand, there is ample evidence for use of the ring as a design motif on cross-carved stones, indicating that this model was already established at the time of constructing the free-standing crosses.

3 See also Richardson and Scarry (1990: 24ff.) for further details and an illustration from a copy of Adomnán's De Locis Sanctis in a mid-ninth-century manuscript source, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 458, fol. 4v. Meehan (1958) contains an edition of the work.

An Irish mission from Iona was established in Northumbria, northeast England, during 634–644. Irish influence in the region was eventually ousted by missionaries from Canterbury following the Synod of Whitby (663) when Northumbria became officially part of the centralising Roman church.

The Iona crosses, which have most recently been dated to the second half of the eighth century (RCAHMS 1982), share features of Northumbrian and Pictish as well as Irish art. They also display the influence of carpentry techniques (Edwards 1990: 163) with tongue-and-groove attachment of the ring to the arms, of metalwork as in the bosses, and of both metalwork and manuscript illumination in other aspects of their design. The earliest Irish crosses are from the eighth century and have Insular ornament rather than figural representation. (Insular style is characterised as a blend of Celtic, Classical and later Germanic motifs).

Monuments which survive in the Pictish region include cross-slabs and free-standing crosses, and are sited in the heart of southern Pictland: in Angus and east Perthshire. Although opinions on dating are liable to vary, the current widely-accepted view is that the earliest slabs are of the early eighth century.⁴

The greater portion of iconography on perishable materials, such as smaller objects of metalwork, ivory, wood and textile, has gone and can never be recovered except dimly through these graven images. One especially suggestive reference may be seen in the funeral procession on the south base of the North Cross at Ahenny (eighth/ninth century; see Henry 1965: pl. 83, Richardson and Scarry 1990: 20, fig. 23, and pl. 4): among the leading group are a figure carrying a ringed cross and another a crozier. Also the extensive excavations of medieval Dublin unearthed a wooden boss which may have originally belonged to a wooden cross (Edwards 1990: 161, following Lang 1988: 4), although this cannot be securely established.

During the ninth century, panels depicting biblical scenes (perhaps Carolingian-inspired) became increasingly important on Irish monuments, culminating in the early tenth-century crosses dominated by complex cycles of Scriptural iconography. There was a revival of interest in the free-standing cross form at the end of the eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries with decoration of high-relief figures and Urnes-influenced ornament (Edwards 1990: 163–4). Because of its lack of music-related imagery, this last phase does not enter the discussion here as far as stone carvings are concerned; however a few significant pieces of metalwork are relevant, as will be indicated below.

Irish crosses may be grouped in three: i) the oldest consist only or almost entirely of abstract ornament in Insular style and are dateable to the second half of the eighth and early ninth centuries; ii) a so-called "transitional" group: and iii) the "scriptural" crosses of the late ninth and early tenth centuries in which the entire emphasis is on Old and New Testament imagery in the service of specific theological messages, according to the Christological or typological exegesis of early Christian authors who interpreted Old Testament scenes as prefigurations of the New Testament Life of Christ.⁵

In the context of the present enquiry, two problems emerge: the first concerns dating, which at present is the cause of lively debate; the second is that of circulation of ideas, particularly in respect of the Irish crosses. On the one hand is the "Carolingian" argument in which it is maintained that the bulk of the figurative carving is a direct result of the art of the Carolingian *renovatio* (Harbison 1984; 1987); on the other, the view that most of the themes and ideas were long in circulation in Ireland but that the evidence simply has not survived (Stalley 1990). The

⁴ For fuller discussion of this and related issues, see Henderson 1982: passim; 1990: 9.

For details of structural typology, see Bourke (1980: 56–7) who observes a gradual reduction in the size of the ring in relation to the total size of the cross, with the transom being moved gradually inwards. The most common type — attributable to the scriptural crosses of the 9th-10th century — is that where the ring intersects shaft and transom within the semicircles of the angles. The extent to which classifications according to structure and imagery support or conflict with one another in terms of dating, regional distribution and directions of influence is a matter for further research. See also Lang (1986) for a study of design techniques.

reality, one expects, lies within and around the extremities of this nativist/non-nativist dichotomy. As with most early medieval Insular materials, gaps in the evidence and the seemingly abrupt appearance of these images on the medieval landscape make it difficult to establish the human-processual links which led to these particular manifestations. However, not only is there ample comparative documentation for scriptural images in continental Carolingian sources, but literary references also provide a hint of the riches that once must have existed in Insular sites, for example, Bede's account of pictures on the walls of his monastery at Jarrow, and of copies made from ivories and other portable continental sources; also Cogitosus's Life of the sixth-century Irish Saint Brigid, in which he described in some detail the paintings which covered the altar screen of her monastic church (see Connolly and Picard 1987: 25–7; Stalley 1990: 147–8). Evidence on wood and plaster has not survived and so we can but surmise as to some of the socio-cultural lines of influence; a reasonable conclusion is that carving on stone was innovatory but that the images represented a combination of existing themes and new influences from foreign centres of production. Evidence on the crosses does show a complex mixture of continental Christian themes with what are clearly local images.

A third problem concerns analysis of the physical materials and structure of the crosses: detailed measurement of the monuments and analysis of carving procedures (see Lang 1986) is shedding new light on techniques and production methods, as is examination of the inscriptions (see Harbison 1979; Ó Murchadha 1980). Furthermore, extensive new excavation and reexamination of materials in museum holdings have brought critical information to light on objects and designs represented on carvings. A survey of these wider issues would exceed our concerns here and so they will be referred to in the main discussion only insofar as they impinge directly on images of music-making. But they are of far from incidental value to that topic, since interpretation of the iconographic record is totally dependent upon an understanding of these questions: by whom and how were they executed? on whose behalf? for what purpose? with what messages?

Until now there exists no composite, systematic assessment of the scenes representing music-making over the entire Insular region. Clearly, for contemporaries these monuments had levels of meanings and association now mostly inaccessible. On the other hand, a search for models in the art of Late Antiquity from the Mediterranean area, and in Carolingian art, is of relevance in any attempt to trace likely sources. This broader context can only be touched upon in the present article, one of the aims of which is to prepare the ground for subsequent studies.

1.2. Function of the monuments

All stone monuments are indicative of a sense of permanency and confidence born of long-term settlement, permitting the time to import sculptors or train local craftsmen and to learn how to work local stone. The Pictish monuments have been described by Henderson as "territorial notice-boards" (1967: 157 and 172) and it is no mere accident that the oldest surviving examples are dateable to the eighth century, by which time the Picts enjoyed a degree of social and political cohesion extending over the entire region north of the Clyde including Orkney and the other islands (see Anderson 1982: 106) but excepting Dalriada which was in the possession of the Scots from Ireland.⁷

7 The name Dalriada derives from a group of Irish settlers, the Dal Riata, from Antrim who in the fifth century A.D. displaced the Picts in Argyll; that region remained part of the Irish political structure for several centuries.

⁶ Recent studies of selective aspects of these materials include Porter 1983 on Pictish monuments; Rimmer 1984, which includes a brief summary of chordophones on Irish and Scottish monuments; also Roe 1949 and Henderson 1986, respectively, on Irish and Scottish depictions of David. My own recent study of Irish monuments (Buckley 1990) did not deal with the wider Insular context except for a few passing references.

Recent research on the siting of high crosses in Ireland and western Scotland, and on their inscriptions, has produced much new information and certain thought-provoking theories concerning patronage, the role of secular and ecclesiastical leaders in the establishment of monasteries, and the political liaisons affirmed and promoted in the building of monuments.⁸ They were used to demarcate the *termon* or area of sanctuary as a holy place, a practice codified in seventh-century Irish canons which stipulate that such a site must be marked out with crosses (RCAHMS 1982: 266, n. 76). They demonstrate the strength of the Church and, through their inscriptions, the power and patronage of ecclesiastical and secular dynasties (usually familially related). They also became a focus for markets held in the vicinity of the larger monasteries.

Crosses were a visible sign of the glory of God, the authority of churchmen, and much more: they were set up within and around ecclesiastical enclosures, especially at gateways and in the courtyard to the west of the principal church, symbolising power and protection. A drawing in the eighth-century *Book of Mulling*⁹ shows a plan of a monastery with clear indications of a number of crosses within and outside of the monastic vallum, some of them dedicated to named prophets and evangelists; both features are consistent with other evidence on certain Irish and Ionan monuments.

Objects of devotion and meditation, centres of preaching, confession and penitence, it is thought that crosses may also have played a part in the liturgy and perhaps functioned as stations for processions and as a place where Mass was said (Edwards 1990: 164). Ó Carragáin suggests that on Kells South Cross, for example, iconographic allusions to the Eucharist may indicate that Mass was celebrated in front of its west face (1988: 16ff.).¹⁰

For the remainder of this paper I shall focus on a selection of these monuments, namely, those containing images relating to music-making in the four regions — Ireland, western Scotland (Argyll), eastern Scotland (Pictland) and northern England — where surviving evidence is found.

1.3. The musical element on the monuments

Scenes depicting musical instruments are interpreted by most modern scholars as representations of David the Psalmist, 11 the Old Testament King and Prophet, who appeared in Insular art of the eighth century as the scope of the iconographic programme was beginning to widen (see Henderson 1986: 101). Henderson also points out that this was a time when Eastern Christian influences were strongest, as witness, for example, the late eighth/early ninth century Book of Kells (which may have been produced on Iona) and Mercian stone sculpture. David is

The origin of the terms "Scots" and "Scotland" dates to this period when the term Scotti in fact referred to the Irish.

9 For further discussion, see Richardson and Scarry 1990: 15.

11 See in particular the seminal studies of Roe (1949) and Henderson (1986).

See Henry 1967: 137ff.; De Paor 1987; Herity 1984; 1987; Ó Murchadha 1980; Higgitt 1986: passim. Crosses with inscriptions include: the Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnois and the Kinnitty Cross, which appear to have been made for two kings, Maelsechnaill and Flann, who were father and son (De Paor 1987: 141, 152ff.) — both also include a prayer for Colmán, who may represent two abbots of the same name or, possibly, the sculptor; the Cross of Muiredach, Monasterboice, probably refers to its abbot who died in 923; the South Cross at Kells, dedicated to two patron saints, Patrick and Columba; Killamery Cross with a doubtful reading of Maelsechnaill (De Paor 1987: 143); Durrow Cross which invokes a prayer for ?Dubthach who governed the Columban foundations of Ireland and Scotland during 927–938, of which Durrow was among the earliest. See RCAHMS 1982 for a discussion of Old Irish inscriptions in Iona.

¹⁰ For more detailed exploration of the liturgical implications of these carvings, see Flower 1954; Hamlin 1982; 1987; Henry 1967; 140–59; Ó Carragáin 1987; 1988.

depicted prominently in all of the surviving early Insular psalters, all but one (the Southampton Psalter) of which include him in his role of Psalmist. In these and on the monuments he appears most commonly with a stringed instrument, occasionally in the company of a wind instrument player, but rarely with his full complement of four assistants, Asaph, Eman, Ethan and Idithun;¹² nevertheless it seems logical to assume that David is intended as the first point of reference. The sheer extent and variety of such images (not all of them strictly biblical), particularly on the Irish monuments, seems to suggest also another level of association, one perhaps related to local practices. I shall return to this in discussion of individual scenes, but for the present I propose to use the "David" label as a general category for all of them.

In the interests of a balanced account — as well as to provide some firm basis to counter assumptions expressed elsewhere — I have made a statistical analysis of the number of examples of presumed David Musician images in proportion to other Davids in each of the four main areas under review (Ireland, Argyll, Pictland and England) proceeding from the most recent David surveys in each area: that by Roe (1949) for Ireland and by Henderson (1986) for the other three. ¹³

Fourteen scenes on twelve Irish stone monuments contain images of performers on musical instruments, and another in a Psalter illustration contemporary with the high cross carvings, amounting to almost one-third of the surviving materials. The other almost equally well represented scene is that of David fighting the lion, which appears fifteen times on eleven monuments. ¹⁴ Of the remaining groups, David anointed by Samuel occurs five times (two of them dubious), David and Goliath and David the Warrior, four times each. In addition there are three instances identified by Roe as David dancing before the ark: on a stone carving, an ivory crozier and a manuscript illustration (1949: 51–2). The anointing scene is particularly important for this survey since in it David is holding his stringed instrument, a juxtaposition which occurs also on one Manx and two English monuments.

Twenty David scenes on fourteen Pictish monuments include seven music-related scenes of which all but one (Hilton of Cadboll) display a stringed instrument, and seven examples of David fighting the Lion. As in Ireland, these two groups are the most prominent. Also identified are three examples of David the Warrior.

For Argyll, five monuments produce seven David images (one doubtful), of which three have David Musician. Other representations include David fighting the Lion, one; David the Warrior, one.

- 12 In some British and Continental manuscripts these may be represented as four musicians, or as some combination of musicians and scribes. For the iconography of David and his musicians, see Steger 1961 and Seebass 1973b: 96–9 and *passim*.
- 13 Roe refers to all of the musician representations as Davids. Henderson is more cautious, referring to "David and his musicians" in cases where there is a string player plus one other musician, but to "single harpers who may be intended for David" in all other cases. The information may be summarised as follows:
 - David fighting the Lion: Pictish region 7; Argyll 1; Ireland 15; England 2;
 - Single "harpers" who may be intended for David: Pictish region 4; Argyll 1; Ireland 13; England 3;
 - David and his Musicians: Pictish region 2; Argyll 3 (of which one is doubtful); Ireland 2; England 4;
 - Musicians who may be extracted from a scene of David and his Musicians: Pictish region 3;
 - David the Warrior: Pictish region 3; Argyll 1; Ireland 4; England 1;
 - David and Jonathan: England 1;
 - The Anointing of David by Samuel: Ireland 4 (of which one includes David's instrument); Man 1 (with instrument); England 4 (of which the two stone carvings include David's instrument);
 - David cuts off the head of Goliath: England 1;
 - David enthroned: England 1.
- 14 The doubling on the South Cross at Kells led Roe to suggest that one of them might be a rarer scene of David killing the bear (1949: 47). See Henderson (1986: 89) for a similar suggestion regarding the cross at Dupplin, Perthshire.

For England, out of twelve known representations in seven sources, five have music scenes (three stone carvings, two manuscripts) all involving a stringed instrument; David fighting the Lion, two; David anointed by Samuel, four (of which two are stone carvings including David's stringed instrument, two are manuscripts); David Warrior, one; David and Jonathan one; David cuts off Goliath's head, one; David enthroned, one (on a textile).

In the case of Ireland, Roe examined some fifty David illustrations in sculpture, metalwork, ivory and stone.¹⁵ The quantity of Irish material is much greater; the number of musicianimages is correspondingly greater, but proportionately not more so than in the other areas. While it would be rash to attempt to draw finite conclusions from this, it does at least point to the appeal of David Musician images in keeping with practices elsewhere, particularly with respect to the illustration of Psalters.

Several points emerge as this stage: i) the prominence of David Musician and David fighting the Lion in Pictish and Irish carving, and of David Musician in Argyll; ii) the instances of the Anointing of David by Samuel where David holds his stringed instrument — also exclusively on carvings, two English, one from Man and one from Ireland; iii) scenes found only in Ireland and England are extracts from the David and Goliath narrative (though there is a possible as yet unidentified scene in Argyll (see Henderson 1986: 95); iv) only in Ireland: David dancing; v) only in England: David and Jonathan; David enthroned.

The next question concerns what type of musical images and instruments are represented: whether we can find any means of grouping them typologically, thematically, stylistically; and what associations they might have had for those who made and regarded them. But first let us examine the evidence in regional grouping.

2. Geographical Distribution

2.1. Ireland

Of the four regions, the Irish sources involve the greatest number of monuments, more diversified images and categories of representation, and offer wider scope for discussion of the contextual setting of the musician images. As I shall present a full and systematic discussion of the organological typology of all of the Insular materials in the following section, I shall here present the images according to their figurational disposition.

- 2.1.1. David seated on the ground, body in profile with half-turned face, holding a quadrilateral chordophone
- i) North Pillar, Carndonagh, Co. Donegal (fig. 1): One of two carved pillars now placed on either side of Carndonagh cross (which is not a ringed cross) but which does not represent their original site; it has been suggested that they may have originally marked the entrance to the chancel of the church (Harbison 1986: 55ff.). While it is not conclusive that the pillars form a pair, the subject of the carvings does imply this. The North Pillar has a bearded David with short hair and angular face, holding his right hand against the upper part of the string band. The instrument has seven parallel strings running between six pairs of pins clearly visible on the upper and lower frame. There is no obvious soundbox, whether lateral or basal. The frame of the instrument is slightly oblique at the top inner corner where it is held against the musician's

¹⁵ We are at a disadvantage in the case of a full statistical survey for Ireland since there is as yet no catalogue of the entire corpus of monuments. For Scotland the RCAHMS survey, though not complete, is at an advanced stage, as is the British Academy survey for Anglo-Saxon sculpture (Cramp 1984).



1. Carndonagh Cross with North and South Pillars, west face (9th/10th century): figures with quadrilateral chordophone, bell, book and crozier. – Photo: Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland

chest. The South Pillar shows a figure with bell, book and crozier or walking staff, the typical accourrements of a holy man, possibly a pilgrim. The pillars have most recently been dated to the ninth or early tenth centuries (*ibidem*: 55ff., cf. also Edwards 1990: 163).

ii) Cross at Graiguenamanagh, Co. Kilkenny, east face, lowest panel (*fig.* 2): A Crucifixion occupies the central crossing; David is presumably seated on the ground since there is no sign of the back of a seat behind him. ¹⁶ This cannot be ascertained, however, since the lower half of the panel is now embedded in the base of the cross. He has long hair and possibly a beard, though this is difficult to determine from the weathered surface of the carving. His right hand is placed against the upper half of the string band with fingers possibly splayed in a plucking position. The chordophone has a thick curved frame on the left and top which gives the appearance of being of one piece; the outer frame is thin; the strings run in parallel with the arms; the base is not now visible. The cross is dated to the late ninth or early tenth century.

2.1.2. David in profile with head frontal, seated on low high-backed throne

i) with quadrilateral instrument: Ullard Cross, Co. Kilkenny, east face, south arm (fig. 3): A Crucifixion scene occupies the centre of the crossing; the musician is seated on the edge of a chair, the legs of which are not included. He is bearing a large chordophone with thickly curved left arm and yoke, and slimmer right arm and base. The position of the player's right arm with its elbow bent and hand placed towards the centre of the perpendicular six-string band is similar to that on Castledermot South Cross. Both legs of the player are clearly visible, giving the impression that the instrument is supported between the knees. His long hair flows back in the manner of a "Pictish pigtail". The cross is dated to the tenth century.

The depictions on Castledermot North and South Crosses, Co. Kilkenny (figs. 4 and 5) also accompany images of the Crucifixion featured on the crossing, again typically on the west face. On the North Cross David is leaning slightly backwards; his right hand reaches upwards and touches the centre of the string band; on South Cross he is seated upright and his right hand, with elbow slightly bent, seems to reach comfortably across the width of the string band towards the farthest string. His legs are clearly visible in both scenes, with perhaps a pigtail hairstyle on the South cross figure. The chordophones are very similar on both carvings. They are smaller in proportion to the size of the figure than that of Graiguenamanagh and Ullard (see below). The frame on the North Cross, which appears slightly oblique, is of more or less equal thickness all round, with three parallel strings on the right half of the string band while the three nearer to the player are slightly diagonal with some confusion at the point of meeting the frame. The South Cross instrument has a thicker frame, heavier at the top and base than on the arms, and with an estimated six parallel strings. Both crosses are dated to the early tenth century.

ii) with asymmetrical instrument: South Cross, Kells, Co. Kilkenny, also known as the Cross of Patrick and Columba (fig. 6): The parable of the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes is illustrated on the east face of the head. The upper part of the panel is filled with carvings of the loaves. In the lower part are two seated figures the left of whom holds an oblique instrument with the right hand extended in a playing position; and to the right, a second figure who is believed to represent Christ; both figures wear long robes. Below them are two fish disposed in the shape of an "X". It is one of several representations on this cross which relate to the subject of the Eucharist, referred to at the end of section 1.2. (above p. 139). The cross is dated to the first quarter of the ninth century.

¹⁶ Cf. Roe's drawing (1949: 58, fig. 12.49) which indicates that she is also of this opinion.



2. Graiguenamanagh Cross, east shaft, lowest panel (9th/10th century): quadrilateral chordophone. – Photo: Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland





3. Ullard Cross, east face, south arm (9th/10th century): quadrilateral chordophone. – Photo: Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland

^{4.} Castledermot, North Cross, west face, north arm (early 10th century): quadrilateral chordophone. – Photo: Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland





5. Castledermot, South Cross, west face, north arm (early 10th century): quadrilateral chordophone. – Photo: Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland

6. South Cross or Cross of Patrick and Columba, Kells, west face, head (early 9th century): Miracle of Loaves and Fishes; figure with asymmetrical lyre. – Photo: Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland

The Cross of Muiredach, Monasterboice, Co. Louth (*fig.* 7): the entire east face arms are occupied by a detailed Last Judgement scene presided over by a representation of Christ in Glory holding branch and cross. A bird (presumably the Holy Spirit) hovers above with wings outstretched, a figure kneels on the left at Christ's feet; the left (south) arm is occupied by the blessed who face Christ and have been saved, while on the right (north) arm the damned are disposed, turned away from Christ and driven off the scene by a devil with a trident. Below Christ, a figure, presumably St Michael, weighs the souls on his scales.

Several musicians are present at Christ's side: to his right a seated player of an oblique-framed chordophone with a bird perched on top; behind him, to the left, are a player of a single pipe, a third figure who appears to sing from a book and a fourth who points to the text on the page. These and the other figures in the group wear tonsures and so evidently are intended to represent a choir of monks. To Christ's left is a player of triple pipes. The faces are in profile for the string and single pipe player and in three-quarter profile in the case of the triple piper. All of those placed towards the centre of the scene appear to wear long robes, while the piper also has a cloak. The string player appears to hold the frame of the instrument rather than pluck the strings; the oblique frame is similar to that on the Kells monument just discussed. The set of triple pipes on the other side has tubes of different lengths, the longest with a clearly defined bell. The cross is dated to the early tenth century.

iii) with instrument having one curved arm: Cross of St Columba, Durrow, Co. Offaly (fig. 8): Last Judgement with Christ in Glory on the east face crossing; to Christ's right, on the south arm, a figure is seated with a stringed instrument held between the knees, the left forward of the right.



7. Cross of Muiredach, Monasterboice, east face (early 10th century): Last Judgement with players of asymmetrical lyre and short horn (north arm), and triple pipes (south arm). – Photo: Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland

The hand does not come into contact with the strings but is placed on the frame of the instrument which is slightly oblique in contour, with one straight and one curved arm, and points upwards where the yoke meets the straight arm. The strings, six in number, are splayed, stretched over a bridge, meeting in the lower half of the instrument. Not only is the bridge clearly visible, but also the soundbox is well defined, leaving no doubt as to its identity as a type of lyre.

In front of the lyre player is a player of a single pipe who probably represents the Archangel Michael blowing the Last Trump, as is suggested by the feathered wing — although it is also possible that this could be intended as a cloak (see for example the cloaks worn by the two ecclesiastics on the Shrine of the Stowe Missal, and of the harper on *Breac Maedóic*; *figs. 9 and 10*). The figure is in a crouched position, somewhat exaggerated no doubt in order that it could be accommodated within the double curve of the cross arm. This cross dates also to the early tenth century.

iv) with round-topped instrument: Cross at Kinnitty, Co. Kilkenny, east shaft, centre panel (fig. 11): A musician, with legs clearly delineated, is seated with his instrument resting on his knees, his right hand holding it by the frame; a bird hovers above. The instrument has a parallel string band, but the representation is now too worn to estimate the number of strings; bridge and soundbox are just visible. Facing the musician is a figure with a crozier in his left hand



8. Durrow Cross, east face, south arm (early 10th century): Last Judgement with players of asymmetrical lyre and horn/trumpet. – Photo: Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland

who holds a bucket above the musician's instrument. The scene has been identified as the Anointment of David by Samuel. The cross is dated to the mid-ninth century.

The high cross at Killamery, also Co. Kilkenny, dated to the first half of the ninth century, is now too badly worn for such details to be visible. On the west face crossing an abstract spiral ornament is carved; below it is a Crucifixion scene and above it on the head of the cross is a figure with a round-topped chordophone in the company of another figure whom Richardson and Scarry (1990: 42 and pl. 147) identified as Samuel. Because of its poor quality I have not included an illustration here as it would convey very little.

2.1.3. David seated on the ground with knees bent upwards, playing to a lion: round-topped instrument

Kells, Co. Kilkenny, West or Broken Cross, east shaft, fourth panel (*fig. 12*): a satisfactory interpretation of this scene has not so far been proposed; a figure on the left holds aloft (apparently in both hands) a round-topped lyre which has a faintly visible soundbox and bridge; below him is an animal resembling a dog; to the right, another figure apparently sits on a four-legged beast, and to his right are two standing figures who face him. It is not easy to deduce whether this was intended as a more pastoral version of the David sequence — i.e. with dog as



9. Shrine of the Stowe Missal (mid-11th century): two clerics with bell and crozier; central figure with asymmetrical three-stringed lyre. – Photo: National Museum of Ireland



10. Breac Maedóic (late 11th century): player of triangular harp. - Photo: National Museum of Ireland



11. Kinnitty Cross, east shaft, centre panel (mid-9th century): Anointment of David – round-topped lyre, – Photo: Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland



12. West Cross, Kells, east shaft, fourth panel (late 9th century): round-topped lyre. – Photo: Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland



13. Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnois, east face, north arm (early 10th century): Last Judgement with horn or trumpet player. – Photo: Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland

in the case of the Pictish Lethendy example (see below and fig. 27) — or a very imaginative version of David fighting the lion. Equally, because of the position of the animal, it is not clear if the musician is standing or seated, though he appears to be standing. The cross is dated to the late ninth century.

There are several musicians on the Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnois, Co. Offaly. On the east face is an image of Christ in Glory with a reduced version of the Blessed and the Damned on each arm; the former, on Christ's right, are led by a horn or trumpet player (*fig. 13*).¹⁷ On opposite panels of the shaft, to the north and south, one sees a player of triple pipes (*fig. 14*) and a player of a round-topped lyre (*fig. 15*), respectively. The lyre player is seated with his knees bent upwards, next to a lion-like animal; the musician has long flowing hair, with his face looking outwards and his body in profile. He holds the frame of the instrument with his right hand; while the stonework is too weathered to see detail, the string band is clearly splayed, meeting at the tailpiece over the soundbox in the lower half of the instrument. What can only be interpreted as a bridge appears to run across the width of the soundbox. The piper on the opposite side also has flowing hair and both his body and face are directed outwards from the frame; his moustache is still visible. At his feet are two animals, back to

¹⁷ It is not possible to ascertain whether the carvings represent horns or trumpets, in the strict modern organological classification of these terms: a horn has a conical bore, a trumpet has a cylindrical or parallel bore. In layman's language, the term "horn" tends to be applied to a short instrument in the shape of an animal horn, and "trumpet" to a straight instrument with a bell or a flare at the distal end.



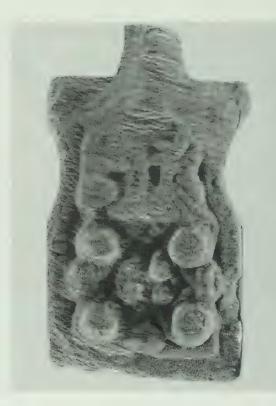


14. Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnois, north shaft, centre panel: player of triple pipes. – Photo: Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland

15. Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnois, south shaft, centre panel: player of a round-topped lyre. – Photo: Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland

back, giving the appearance of a footrest. He is in a seated position with tunic down to his ankles, and bare feet; there is no sign of his throne. In the top left-hand corner of the panel two interlocked figures are visible one of which has a long tail, suggesting two fighting cats. This cross is dated to the early tenth century.

On the matter of what clothing may have been depicted on many of these figures, it is probable that what appear to us now — more than one thousand years later — as bare limbs may simply be the result of weathering. There are several instances where only the edge of clothing is discernible on an otherwise apparently naked body, e.g. the Crucified Christ on the Cross of Muiredach, Monasterboice, where a narrow ridge is visible across the ankles (*fig. 7*). This is all that remains of what was probably a tunic clinging close to the body through which the outline of the limbs would have been visible, as occurs also in contemporary and later manuscript paintings. The somewhat less weathered example of the triple pipe player on the Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnois, illustrates the point (*fig. 14*): the figure's legs are covered by a light tunic, the hem of which is clearly seen; but "through" the tunic, as it were, the outline of the knees and calves is quite apparent; there is a similar outline of the legs of the lyre player on the opposite side of the shaft, this time without a hem visible on the garment.



16. St Oran's Cross, Iona, back of right arm (late 8th century): figure with fragment of chordophone. – Photo: The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

2.2. Argyll

Iona represents a crossing point between Ireland and north Britain, having been settled by the Irish Dal Riata of Antrim in the fifth century A.D. A monastery was founded there by Columba in 563 but, according to the most recent study of the site, the oldest surviving crosses date from the second half of the eighth century (RCAHMS 1982); this opinion is based on the view that they were likely to have been constructed before the Viking attacks around 800 which led to the monks' abandonment of the monastery to seek refuge at Kells in Ireland, where they set up another foundation.

The Iona crosses are contemporary with the earliest Irish crosses but exhibit more figural representation, comparable to the late-ninth-century "transitional" monuments in Ireland which display similar iconographic programmes. The two Iona crosses of interest here are St Martin's and St Oran's, both of which carry representations of a musician with stringed instrument seated on the ground. The style of carving in general (though not of the musical instruments) resembles that on the later North and South Crosses at Castledermot; certain topics are held in common, including Daniel, the Sacrifice of Isaac, and the stringed instrument player, though the absence of dividing frames between the panels is a Pictish feature (see RCAHMS 1982: 19).

St Oran's Cross, a free-standing monument which survives in fragmentary form (now housed in the Nunnery Museum on the island), features a cloaked figure in profile on the back of the right arm: the head is facing inwards towards the head of the cross with the body in right profile.





17. St Martin's Cross, Iona, west face (late 8th century): players of quadrilateral chordophone and triple pipes. – Photo: The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland 18. Same monument. Detail. – Photo: The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

The instrument is clearly a chordophone, described in the RCAHMS account as "a vertical quadrilateral", but it is far too worn to perceive any details (fig. 16; RCAHMS 1982: 195–6).

St Martin's Cross, on the west face of the shaft, features a tall, broadly quadrilateral chordophone which may be described as similar to the large-frame instruments depicted on the ninth- or tenth-century Irish crosses of Ullard and Graiguenamagh, but reversed (figs. 17 and 18). Although badly worn, it appears, like them, to have a parallel string band and its broadly four-sided profile with one curved and one straight arm suggests a lyre structure. Comparable also to the Carndonagh pillar, the musician is seated on the ground with his legs stretched out before him. Facing him, a kneeling figure holds a triangular object to his mouth which suggests another set of triple pipes. If this identification is correct, it would be the oldest known Insular representation of that instrument. There is an unidentified rectangular object between them which may represent a book. There have also been suggestions that it might have been intended as a drum (Henderson 1986: 94) but without comparable data it is difficult to comment further. Above this scene are the Sacrifice of Isaac, and Daniel in the Lions' Den. The Virgin and Child are depicted within the circle at the head of the cross, a feature found on several Anglian crosses but lacking in Irish examples.

Two other monuments to be considered are of somewhat later date, probably some time in the tenth century: the cross slabs at Ardchattan, also in Argyll (fig. 19) and Kirk Michael, on



19. Cross slab at Ardchattan (10th century): three cowled ecclesiastics with harp, triple pipes and (?)horn; below, a figure with sword and notched shield. – Photo: The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland



20. Stone carving at Kirk Michael (10th century): Anointment of David; asymmetrical lyre. – Photo: R. Trench-Jellicoe

the Isle of Man (*fig. 20*). At Ardchattan three cowled figures sit on the ground one below the other; a fourth, and lowest, figure faces outwards bearing a sword and notched shield. The group of three all appear to be musician figures: the top one cradles the outline of a stringed instrument which suggests a trilateral harp with rounded joints between neck and soundbox; but it is vague. The second figure blows a set of triple pipes and the third probably a horn but which appears slightly bulbous at both ends. Above the top figure a number of animals are disposed, lending further credence to the likelihood that the musicians are part of a David scene. The stone carving at Kirk Michael forms part of another David Musician programme with links to both Irish and English carvings of later date. A figure seated on the ground plucks a large oblique lyre while a facing figure holds what appears to be a horn; the scene has been interpreted as the Anointment of David by Samuel (Roe 1949: 40–42; Trench-Jellicoe 1991: 75). This is one instance of a theme found also on Irish and English carvings. The instrument in question is an oblique lyre with four or five strings in fan formation narrowing towards the lower part of the instruments where they are stretched over a bridge situated on a clearly defined soundbox.

2.3. Pictland

Six monuments depicting triangular chordophones may be grouped into two types (Henderson 1986: 102) although, as Henderson points out, all of these representations of David are closely related.



21. Cross slab at Nigg (8th century, second half): David imagery, including triangular harp. – Photo: The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

2.3.1. Player and instrument disconnected

The first group is more complex: the symbol-bearing cross-slabs at Nigg, Easter Ross (second half of the eighth century, *fig. 21*) and Aberlemno, Angus (first half of the ninth century, *fig. 22*), and the cross-slab (without characteristically Pictish symbols) at Aldbar, Angus (tenth century, *fig. 23*) which is now housed in Brechin Cathedral. In none of these is David depicted actually holding his instrument but it is included along with other accoutrements from his narrative in the general scene in, as it were, a telescoping of the images: David fighting the Lion, David the Warrior (not Aldbar), David the Shepherd Boy (represented by a sheep) and David the Psalmist (represented by a harp).

The Nigg harp (*fig. 21*) has a clearly delineated straight forepillar and a thick soundbox with six or seven strings. The meeting-point between the backward sloping neck and forward sloping soundbox is not at an acute angle but in a gradual curve suggesting comparison with the hollow c-shaped shoulder of the so-called "developed" harp found in later English manuscripts such as the Harley Psalter (London, British Library, MS Harley 603, *ca.* 1000; see Rensch 1969: 33ff.; 1972: 29ff.) and the Tiberius Psalter (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C.VI, mid-eleventh century; see Rensch 1969: pl. 11b; Steger 1961: pl. 27). The same point on the Aldbar harp features a virtual right angle (*fig. 23*). There, neck and soundbox are almost of equal thickness, the neck slightly overhanging the forepillar, which is





22. Cross slab at Aberlemno (9th century, first half): David imagery, including triangular harp; hunting scene with long horns/trumpets. – Photo: The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

23. Cross slab at Aldbar (10th century): David imagery, including triangular harp. – Photo: The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

clearly curved. It is not possible to estimate the number of strings. The David scene on Aberlemno No.3 slab occupies a small corner at the lower right side of the panel (*fig.* 22): David rends the lion's jaw; a sheep is seen above the lion and over the sheep a harp lying on its back. It has a deeply curved soundbox with a slender, straight forepillar.

The Aberlemno slab additionally contains carvings of two aerophones with flared terminals. Another elaborate hunting scene, accompanied by similar instruments, but not related to Davidic iconography, occurs on the symbol-bearing slab from Hilton of Cadboll, Easter Ross (ca. 800 A.D.; fig. 24). It is decorated on one side only and comes from the same region as the Nigg stone (but is now housed in the National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh), leading Henderson (1986: 91) to the conclusion that both monuments suggest the presence in Easter Ross of a representation of David and his musicians on which these "cuts" were modelled.¹⁹

¹⁹ Another carving on two stone fragments from St Andrews has been identified by Robertson as representing David with a stringed instrument (Robertson 1976–77: 259–61, and pl. 16, reproduced in Henderson 1986: 114, pl. 5.1b). From examination of the stone I have come to the conclusion that this interpretation cannot be



24. Symbol-bearing slab, Hilton of Cadboll (ca. 800): hunting scene with horn or trumpet players. – Photo: National Museums of Scotland

2.3.2. Player and instrument connected

The second Pictish group is of a more straightforward, figural character, and more closely resembles the Irish monuments in conformity with what Henderson (1986: 102) refers to as their Scoto-Pictish background (see also Stevenson 1955: 126). They are among the chronologically later monuments and thus post-date the takeover of the region by the Scots.²⁰ These monuments are a free-standing cross at Dupplin, Perthshire (second half of the ninth century, *fig.* 25); the shaft of another, perhaps tenth-century, cross at Monifieth, Angus (*fig.* 26); and a tenth-century carved stone slab subsequently re-used as a lintel in the doorway of a sixteenth-century tower house at Lethendy, Perthshire (*fig.* 27), but which once probably stood in a nearby field (Fisher and Greenhill 1971–2).

In all of this group the stringed instrument is depicted held by a figure in a realistic playing position, carved in profile, facing left on Dupplin (fig. 25) and Monifieth (fig. 26), and to the right facing a second figure on Lethendy (fig. 27) where both musicians are in a standing position. The string player is seated on a low throne on both Dupplin and Monifieth, suggesting comparison with Irish models; the throne at Dupplin was thought by Allen and Anderson (1903: 322, fig. 334b) to have an animal terminal. Stevenson (1955: 126) noted that the Dupplin figure wears a moustache similar to those featured on the Cross of Muiredach, Monasterboice, suggesting that he might be a Scot rather than a Pict, but this feature ought not to be regarded as exclusively Irish. On the other hand there are no Irish examples of such triangular frame chordophones, with their straight forepillars and necks. Monifieth has an unrealistically heavy neck, but its attachment to the forepillar looks strikingly credible. On the panel immediately above the harper, two figures hold curved horns in their right hands, the bells pointing upwards. Apart from the standing position of the string player on the Lethendy panel (fig. 27), the fact that his companion plays a set of triple pipes, and that both have a bearded countenance, suggests comparison with Irish models. The piper's cheeks are puffed out realistically, and his instrument looks highly credible. His right-hand fingers curve around the two shorter pipes which appear to be almost of equal length. His left hand, placed higher than the right, holds the longer pipe slightly apart from the others; it appears to have a slightly bulbous form at the distal end, perhaps a bell or a flare. Both musicians wear tunics to mid-calf, tied at the waist. Lethendy is the only representation of triple pipes in this part of Scotland.

The scene also includes a dog, perhaps a reference to David's pastoral occupation, and a rectangular object with two parallel ridges along its length crossed by two shorter ones. Fisher and Greenhill (1971–72: 239) suggest that it may be a barrel-drum.²¹ The upper panel on the

sustained. The left hand which is visible in the upper right corner of one of the fragments is in a cupped position with the palm upwards, and so is unlikely to represent the plucking action described in Robertson's sketch. What confirms my negative conclusion, however, is that there is no sign of the frame of an instrument, of strings, or indeed of any marking which might suggest a representation of a musical instrument, however badly worn.

- 20 The Scots and the Picts formerly shared succession to the Pictish throne but the situation changed *ca.* 843 A.D. when the King, Kenneth Mac Alpin, established Scottish supremacy in all matters. How this may have manifested itself in different parts of the kingdom, particularly with respect to artistic expression, was undoubtedly a variable and gradual process and cannot be assessed from this distance in time. Nevertheless, these long-term processes are supported by the evidence under consideration. For further discussion see Ritchie 1989: 57 and, in greater detail, Henderson 1967 and the recent study of the Dal Riata in Anderson 1982.
- 21 See above for discussion of the unidentified rectangular object on St Martin's Cross, Iona. We have no information on the local use of drums which would help to sustain this hypothesis. If the scene is to be interpreted as a contrast between low-status secular music and the higher activity of prayer engaged in by the two ecclesiastics in the panel above, some comparisons could be drawn with the drumming figure clothed in an animal-skin depicted in a similar context in a twelfth-century psalter from St Rémy de Reims (cf. notes 25 and 40 below, and fig. 33).



25. Dupplin Cross (9th century, second half): figure playing triangular harp. – Photo: National Museums of Scotland

Lethendy carving has a pair of clerics above whom hovers an angel. One of the clerics (on the left) holds a book and the other a rod with a fleur-de-lys terminal in one hand and a chalice or conical beaker in the other — or perhaps it is a horn, which would provide closer comparison to the panels at Monifieth.

The denotion of the term "Pictish harp", while it has entered the scholarly vocabulary, needs to be carefully re-defined as a "harp of Pictish iconography" rather than lending itself to an implication that it represents an actual Pictish instrument. Indeed the very similarity of most of the instruments suggests a single iconographic model being copied over and over again, as concluded by Henderson (1986: 111), a point which tends to be supported by the presence of the players of long horns/trumpets and the general lack of variety in the imagery of these monuments as a whole. I shall return to this point in the general discussion of the distribution of organological types in section 3.1.



26. Monifieth Cross: figure playing triangular harp (?10th century); above are two clerics holding horns. – Photo: National Museums of Scotland

^{27.} Slab in Tower of Lethendy (10th century): players of triangular harp and triple pipes. – Photo: The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

2.4. England

It has been the general practice to regard a hypothetical "set piece" of David and his four assistants as the standard model for representation of David and his stringed instrument (e.g. Roe 1949: 55; Lawson 1981: 237; Henderson 1986: 96, 103), an iconographic programme derived from Lombardic Byzantine imagery which spread northwards and westwards through the European continent and to Britain and Ireland. If that is so, then the great majority of these monuments are cuts selectively chosen for purposes which it is not always possible to explore, though no doubt including the obvious explanation of economy in terms of the amount of physical space available. All of these carvings are busy, containing a number of different messages, juxtaposed or interspersed, and so some kind of "shorthand" would no doubt have been a conscious element in their design and execution: the space on a single stone monument was much more finite than on vellum — even if the latter were also expensive to produce, another folio could be used if necessary.

And so it is not surprising to find that the only relatively lavish representation of David and his group is found in a manuscript, the Vespasian Psalter (fig. 28), executed at Canterbury in the second quarter of the eighth century (ca. 725). The illustrations have been compared with those of the ninth-century Khludov Psalter (Moscow, Historical Museum, Cod. Gr. 129) believed to go back to a common early Christian model probably by way of a sixth-century Italian work from a centre of Byzantine influence such as Ravenna (Alexander 1978: 55; Henderson 1986: 108). A full-page miniature occupies the frontispiece, representing an enthroned David with six-stringed plucked lyre and a scribe seated to either side; at his feet two players of curved horns, two straight horn or trumpet players and two dancers form a semi-circle. David is playing a realistic six-stringed Anglo-Saxon lyre, stopping the strings from behind with his left hand and apparently plucking in front with his right. An abbreviated version occurs in the Durham Cassiodorus where a solitary enthroned David Rex holds a similar lyre but where only five strings and tuning pegs are visible (fig. 29). Unusually, it is the reverse of the instrument which we see: the left hand is held up to the strings, supported by a carrying strap, too faint to be visible in the reproduction included here. It is one of two surviving miniatures used to divide the psalter into the "fifties"; a third one, now missing, was probably placed at the beginning of the codex. The manuscript, a copy of Cassiodorus's Commentary on the Psalms, was executed in Northumbria in the second quarter of the eighth century. It is thought that the (now lost) exemplar may have come from Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, perhaps brought to England from Cassiodorus's own monastery at Vivarium, from where the community acquired several of its books.

David imagery seems scarce on English sculpture before *ca*. 1000. The early ninth-century column (which may once have had a cross on top) at Masham, North Yorkshire (*fig. 30*), bears a resemblance to the scene in the Canterbury Psalter and to other tenth- and eleventh-century continental psalters. Two later examples of possible round lyres are too vague to be examined in detail: both are from Northumbria and are dated to the tenth century by Trench-Jellicoe (1991: figs. 1, 2 and 3). They are apparently representations of the Anointment of David by Samuel, the figure of Samuel holding in his left hand a horn containing the sacred oil, as occurs also on the Manx carving at Kirk Michael (*fig. 20*).

The Masham figure of David playing the lyre in the presence of three other figures was identified by Bailey (1972). Lawson, in a follow-up study (1981), suggested that the other three figures were a player of a triangular harp, a scribe writing at a lectern and a dancer or juggler. The quality of the monument makes it difficult to distinguish these details with the





28. The Vespasian Psalter (ca. 725), fol. 30v: David the Psalmist, playing round-topped lyre, with horn players and scribes. – Photo after Nordenfalk 1977

29. The Durham Cassiodorus (second quarter of 8th century), fol. 81v: *David Rex* with round-topped lyre. – Photo after Nordenfalk 1977



30. Sculpted column at Masham (early 9th century): David with round-topped, waisted lyre in company with a figure playing a triangular harp, a scribe and possibly a dancer. – Photo: G.D.S. Henderson

naked eye but the contour drawing by Lawson (*ibidem*: 230) is suggestive. The presence of a frame harp in this region and at this date is not surprising even if there is a severe lack of information on the history of the instrument for at least another hundred years. The earliest representation in a manuscript — and that most usually acknowledged as the oldest source for a clearly defined triangular harp — is in the Utrecht Psalter, dated to the second quarter of the ninth century and known to have been at Canterbury in the tenth. The evidence suggests that there were other such drawings in circulation which may have served as a model for Masham and for monuments further north.

To sum up, it has been shown that these images of musicians on north British monuments represent a high proportion of all David iconography; they occur on the whole as semi-independent scenes depicting the Psalmist alone or with other players, except for the first Pictish group where the stringed instrument is used as a symbol together with other David accourtements, and not placed in the hands of a player. Unlike many of the Irish carvings, they do not form part of a larger narrative scene, e.g., involving an audience, or other non-musician participants, but they seem, rather, to serve the purpose of directing attention towards, "foretelling", other events with which they are juxtaposed or which occur on another part of the monument concerned.

3. Organology: a comparative study of the instruments

3.1. Chordophones

With the exception of the obviously triangular chordophones on certain of the Pictish monuments and at Masham, all of the other Insular instruments in this category are variously quadrilateral, with straight arms attached to the top of the frame, or yoke, but which do not extend beyond it. There is a certain degree of variability in individual cases, most notably: 1) the angle at which the yoke meets the arms; 2) the presence of a soundbox in the lower part of the frame; and 3) the disposition of the string band which in certain cases is straight, indicating strings in parallel formation, and in others splayed, indicating strings in fan formation. In those instances where a soundbox is evident, the attachment of the strings is apparent at the base, from whence they are stretched over a bridge positioned on the soundbox and upwards to the yoke.

Representations of rounded quadrilateral chordophones without a visible soundbox occur in Ireland on the carved pillar at Carndonagh (*fig. 1*), the crosses at Graiguenamanagh (*fig. 2*) and Ullard (*fig. 3*), and the two Castledermot crosses (*figs. 4 and 5*), and in Argyll on St Martin's Cross, Iona, (*figs. 17 and 18*).

The Iona example illustrates a large instrument where arm meets yoke at a slightly oblique angle at the top of the frame nearest the player, and is rounded on the other end of the yoke. The carving on the red sandstone North Pillar at Carndonagh (*fig. 1*) shows much more detail: the slender quadrilateral frame is also slightly oblique at the upper corner nearest the player; seven strings run in parallel between two sets of five or six pins, respectively, in the upper and lower parts of the frame. Even details of the player's hand are visible, though not quite sufficiently to be sure whether they indicate a plucking index finger with the other three extended, or a thumb and three fingers. There is also an unidentified, slightly rounded object above the frame of the instrument, under the edge of the player's chin. From a certain angle this could be interpreted as the player's left hand holding a tuning key — a common representation of David in later manuscript iconography. This possibility must remain hypothetical in view of its vague outline; there is no other such example on early medieval Insular monuments with which it might be compared.

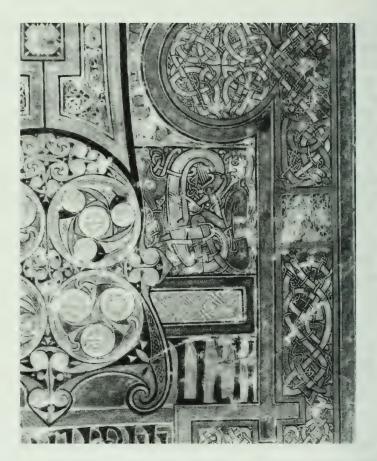
It is noteworthy that both Iona and Carndonagh represent the musician seated on the ground with legs outstretched and that their instruments have more or less the same profile. This image is comparable to a very stylised representation in the Book of Kells (*fig. 31*; for a colour reproduction, see Henry 1974: pl. 95), a late-eighth-/early-ninth-century Gospel Book (Dublin, Trinity College, MS A.I.6 [*olim* 58] fol. 292r). On the opening page of St John's Gospel, with the words *In Principio*, the letter "C" is, as it were, held by the tiny figure of a man formed from the letter "I". He is seated on the ground — this time in left profile — with his knee bent upwards and his left hand oustretched as though plucking a chordophone with a zoomorphic terminal.

The Castledermot chordophones (*figs. 4 and 5*) are smaller with the whole frame visible, and a rounded yoke meeting both arms. The instruments on the Graiguenamanagh and Ullard crosses (*figs. 2 and 3*) are larger (as at Iona — *fig. 18*), with a clearly rounded yoke meeting the arm nearest the player, and the suggestion of a right angle on the opposite side. This last may however be due to the proximity of the outer arm to the frame of the panel, thus restricting the sculptor to a slimmer rendering. There is no sign of this on the left side of these panels — which suggests that the craftsman worked from left to right, beginning with the image of the player — or on the two Castledermot carvings, which illustrate smaller instruments occupying the space above the player's lap and close to his chest, rather than extending from between his knees as in the case of Ullard. (This detail is not observable in Graiguenamanagh because that part of the panel is now set in the base of the cross.) The strings run in parallel between the yoke and the base of the frame. The images are now too weathered to see any details of string attachment, or traces of tuning pins. In any case the rudimentary nature of the carvings, together with the hardness and rough exterior of the granite stone on the Irish examples, suggests that these features may not have been included at the time the work was executed.

These quadrilateral representations (*figs. 1–5, 18*) have posed many problems. What were they intended to convey? Are they to be classified as harps or lyres, or as some kind of hybrid? On these carvings the strings run in parallel between the curved upper part of the frame and the horizontal base, thus defying interpretation as realistic representations of musical instruments, whether one compares them with certain Western Asiatic or East Mediterranean models (i.e., with stringholder at the base), or with West European models (with stringholder above). In harps the strings run between a soundbox (usually portrayed as thicker) and a stringholder; furthermore, a quadrilateral harp is an unlikely organological type and one which has not so far been attested anywhere. If they were intended to represent lyres, there should be evidence of attachment of the strings over a soundbox — as, for example, in the case of Durrow (*fig. 8*).

They seem to belong to the iconographic tradition of D-shaped representations common in early medieval continental iconography, a variant of the Greek triangular Delta (Δ) chordophone found also in contemporary images. Their lack of specificity in detail suggests comparison with the panoply of representations of David's biblical instrument, and illustrations in sources of the so-called Dardanus letter (Seebass 1973a: 565; 1973b: 141–4). In other words, they were never intended to represent contemporary stringed instruments, or indeed any particular organological type: rather they conform to another kind of typology, that of Late Antique and Early Christian iconography of David of the Old Testament, the sacred Other, preserving a distance from the contemporary world and from activities of secular musicians (Seebass 1973a: 564–5; 1973b: 113–5, 128, 130ff.).

Such depictions are seen, for example, in a ninth-century Byzantine cosmography, perhaps from Alexandria, copied from an original dated to 547 (Rome, Vatican Library, cod. graec. 699, fol. 63), in the Paris Psalter, a Byzantine source from the early or mid-tenth century (Paris,



31. Book of Kells (8th/9th century), fol. 292r: *In Principio* with seated figure (letter "i") holding letter "c" as a chordophone. – Photo: Photographic Archives, Department of Archaeology, University College Dublin

Bibliothèque nationale, fonds grec 139, fol. 1v), as well as in Carolingian sources such as the Psalter of Charles the Bald, 843–69 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds lat. 1152, fol. 1v), the Stuttgart Psalter, *ca.* 830 (Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, MS fol. 23, fol. 40r).²²

Similarly, the use of the Christianized bird motif of Antiquity, as seen on Monasterboice, Kinnity, *Breac Maedóic* (*figs.* 7, 11, 10)²³ and perhaps on the Shrine of the Stowe Missal (*fig.* 9), is suggestive of such comparison: this theme is found also in Byzantine illumination, for example in the mid-ninth-century Khludov Psalter (Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. gr. 129, fol. 147v).²⁴

²² For reproductions of the Vatican source, see Steger 1961: pl. 1; Seebass 1973b: pl. 90; and for the Paris Psalter, Weitzmann 1981: pl. X, fig. 5; Seebass 1973b: pl. 88. Reproductions from the Psalter of Charles the Bald and the Stuttgart Psalter are in Seebass 1973b: pl. 94. For further discussion of quadrilateral *psalterium/cithara* illustrations, see Seebass 1973a: 564–5; Seebass 1973b: 47–50, 113–5, 128, 130ff.; and *ibidem* 100–28 for further discussions of Byzantine illumination. Relevant images from Dardanus manuscripts are reproduced in Seebass 1973b: pls. 112–9. Illustrations of Antique models may be found *ibidem*, pls. 94, 95, 98 and 99. These issues are summarized and developed further in Seebass 1987: *passim*.

²³ See Buckley 1992, cover illustration, for an enlarged colour reproduction of *Breac Maedóic*.

²⁴ For the Khludov illustration of a *psalterium decachordum*, see Henderson 1986, pl. 5.2a, after Weitzmann 1981: X, fig. 6.

Two twelfth-century French manuscripts also attest to the survival of Late Antique imagery of David Musician: the ivory book cover of the Psalter of Mélisande (now London, British Library, MS 1139; see *fig. 32*), and a psalter from St Rémy de Reims (now Cambridge, St John's College, MS B.18, fol. 1r; see *fig. 33*). The instrument on the book cover is played by Etan. David is in the centre playing a trapezoidal psaltery with two long beaters; to his right and left are his four musicians, each with his name written above, playing (from right to left) a rebec, a triangular harp, a vielle and a quadrilateral chordophone with six parallel strings running between the yoke, which contains six clearly delineated tuning pins, and the lower part of the frame. The instrument has a thick left arm and a very slender right arm. The musician holds a tuning key in his left hand, above the yoke; his right hand is extended as though plucking at the centre of the string band. All of his colleagues seem to be playing, whereas Etan is still tuning his instrument, and appears to be assisted by Idithun, his neighbour, who leans over in his direction.

The outline of Etan's instrument bears a striking resemblance to the chordophones on the Castledermot, Graiguenamanagh and Ullard crosses (*figs.* 2–5), while the position of both left and right hands suggest comparison with the musician seated on the ground at Carndonagh (*fig.* 1), making stronger the hypothesis put forward above that the small round object above the frame of the instrument represents the left hand in the act of tuning. The St John's illustration (*fig.* 33) is a typological agglomeration.²⁵ David surrounded by musicians, a figure reading a book, and an assistant supporting David's instrument, a quadrilateral chordophone plucked from both sides of the string band. It has six parallel strings but eight tuning pins. The frame has one straight arm nearest the player, while the yoke and the right arm form a curve. There is no soundbox in evidence. The frame is similar in shape to the instrument depicted on the Durrow cross (*fig.* 8), though reversed, and having parallel strings where Durrow's are in fan formation.

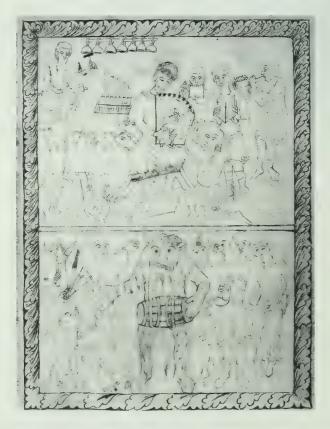
The second type of representation — quadrilateral chordophones with soundbox and bridge — occurs in Ireland on i) the Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnois (fig. 15), Kinnitty (fig. 11) and Killamery crosses, and the West Cross at Kells (fig. 12), all with round-topped frames and parallel or fan-shaped string band, and ii) the South Cross (or Cross of Muiredach), Monasterboice (fig. 7), the West Cross (or Cross of St Columba) at Durrow (fig. 8) and the South Cross (or Cross of Patrick and Columba) at Kells (fig. 6), as well as one on a now isolated stone at Kirkmichael, Isle of Man (fig. 20), all of which have oblique forms and a fan-shaped string band. In addition to being richer in scriptural imagery, the sandstone fabric of these crosses renders them amenable to carving of more subtle detail than would have been possible on the harder granite of the Barrow Valley crosses just discussed.

i) Of the four illustrations, those at Clonmacnois (*fig. 15*) and Kells (*fig. 12*) clearly indicate the outline of the soundbox and the open frame in the upper half of the instrument; both have a bridge (or possibly a tailpiece) which almost spans the width of the soundbox. The strings are slightly fan-shaped on Clonmacnois, but it is difficult to say from the extent of deterioration of that part of the image which extends over the soundbox; on Kells West Cross they are clearly parallel between bridge/tailpiece and yoke. The Kinnitty carving (*fig. 11*) is less clear as it is badly damaged from fungus; the soundbox and string band are present but there is now no sign of a bridge or tailpiece. Killamery (Richardson and Scarry 1990: pl. 147) has just an outline of what is surely an identical instrument. On all four the accompanying figure is touching or holding the frame with his right hand, not reaching out to the strings in a playing position.

²⁵ This scene represents a contrast between the model-setting biblical characters in the upper panel and, in the lower, secular musicians and players of the day who were strongly disapproved of by the Church. For a fuller discussion, see Seebass 1973a and 1973b: 139–141.



32. Psalter of Mélisande, ivory book cover (12th century): David and his musicians playing (left to right) quadrilateral chordophone, vielle, hammer dulcimer, triangular harp and rebec. – Photo after Steger 1961



33. Psalter from St Rémy de Reims (12th century), fol. 1r: contrasting images of good and evil; above David with musicians plays a quadrilateral chordophone. – Photo: Collection T. Seebass

A unique early-tenth-century Irish psalter illustration of David Musician (*fig. 34*) also depicts a quadrilateral chordophone having features of both types just discussed. London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius F.XI, fol. 2r is strikingly similar to the Clonmacnois and Kells instruments in having a clearly marked soundbox with stringholder and chord for attaching it to the base of the instrument. The illustrator has made a mistake in extending the stringholder so far below the end of the instrument, or rather, one should say, in shortening the soundbox, suggesting that he copied from a carving without understanding the structure of the instrument — an error also found in Roe's illustrations (1949: 58, figs. 12.43 and 12.44), in which the stringholder extends unrealistically beyond the base of the instrument.²⁶ One might misread this from the Clonmacnois carving (if less so on Kells) if one did not understand the technology, although all of the structural details are visible to the experienced eye.

The instrument has seven strings (if one regards each pair of perpendicular lines as indicating a single string), and seven tuning pins, both of which are realistic in terms of existing evidence for Insular lyres. Furthermore, the left arm is quite thick and slopes slightly towards the yoke which it meets in a deep curve. The opposite end of the yoke terminates in an animal head, and in place of the right arm is a zoomorphic drawing, the tail of which meets the animal head of the yoke; its head joins the soundbox, with one paw reaching out as though to pluck the strings.

While obviously somewhat fanciful, it may be influenced by zoomorphic ornamentation — perhaps a metal carving — which could have been fixed to the arm of such a lyre, similar to (but more elaborate than) the decorated mounting on the early-seventh-century Sutton Hoo lyre (fig. 35). Might it also suggest a slimmer right arm (in this case hidden behind the ornament), such as appears to arise on the Barrow Valley crosses? In any case, the presence of a parallel string band brings the latter very close in outline to the Cotton Vitellius drawing, even if both lack representation of soundbox or tailpiece. The player is seated next to a lion, rather like Clonmacnois (fig. 15), but in the latter his knees are bent up high; also in the manuscript illustration his right hand extends beyond the frame of the instrument to touch the strings — unlike the stone carving where his hand touches the frame — and his left hand is visible at the back through the strings. The folds of the right-arm sleeve are very similar in both illustrations.

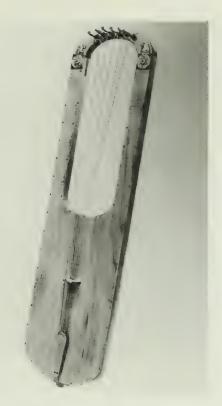
Monasterboice (fig. 7) and Kells South Cross (fig. 6) both have oblique instruments with the yoke slanting upwards, away from the player. The soundbox is not apparent on either but on Monasterboice the outline of a bridge is clearly visible; there the player holds the frame of the instrument with his right hand and a bird is perched on the yoke. On Kells the right hand of the player touches the strings. This has a parallel on the Manx monument at Kirk Michael (fig. 20) which has a depiction of a figure seated on the ground with legs outstretched and a belt around his waist. Between his knees he supports a large asymmetrical lyre with four or five strings. It narrows sharply towards the base of the soundbox, as on the two Irish monuments. The strings are in splayed formation, attached at the lower end to a clearly visible tailpiece.

Durrow (*fig.* 8) is a slightly different case: six strings in fan formation are attached with pins to the top of the frame; the yoke meets the arm in a curve on the left side, nearest the player, but is slightly oblique on the other, where it terminates to meet the arm. Soundbox and bridge are clearly represented underneath the strings.

²⁶ There are several problems arising from these drawings. For example, Roe herself believed that the instrument on Castledermot South Cross included a zoomorphic carving; on closer examination of the monument, it is clear that this is merely a crack in the stone (1949; 57–8, fig. 12.46 — mistakenly referred to as 12.45 in her discussion on p. 57). It is unfortunate that Steger reproduced them, apparently without awareness of this problem (1961: 59–60); see also note 27 below.



34. The Cotton Psalter (early 10th century), fol. 2r: David playing a round-topped lyre. – Photo: Photographic Archives, Department of Archaeology, University College Dublin



35. Model of Anglo-Saxon lyre from Sutton Hoo, early 7th century A.D. – Photo after Steger 1971

An identical instrument, but with only three strings, is found on a side panel of the Shrine of the Stowe Missal (fig. 9) dating to the mid-eleventh century. Though the shrine was refurbished in 1381, this panel dates to the time of manufacture of the reliquary (some time between 1026 and 1033 according to recent opinion; see Ó Riain 1991), and features a metalwork carving of a group of four figures: two ecclesiastics, one with a crozier the other with a bell; between them a small figure is crouched on a low seat (without legs) holding a chordophone on his knees; above him is a figure which may have been intended as a bird. The chordophone is a small three-stringed lyre with a clearly visible soundbox and tailpiece; apart from the lack of any bridge, and the smaller number of strings, this instrument is morphologically identical to that on the Durrow Cross, including the oblique angle of the yoke with the right arm.²⁷

Albeit impressionistic in certain aspects, and very rudimentary in several instances, these Insular carvings conform on the whole with what is known of medieval North European lyres: broadly quadrilateral frame, soundbox and arms made from one piece of wood (monoxylous), with six to eight strings stretched over a bridge and attached to the base of the instrument by means of a tailpiece. Fragments or intact examples of some eighteen lyres of this type have so

²⁷ The drawing provided in Roe (1949: 58, fig.12.48) is inaccurate. Steger's reliance upon it led him to comment that there was no sign of a soundbox underneath the strings, a view which could hardly have been sustained if he had examined the shrine itself (1971: 116; see also note 26 above), although this error does not contradict his main point, namely, that there appears to be no evidence for the continental *Rotte*, or delta-shaped psaltery, in the Insular region before the eleventh century.

far been identified from medieval sites in Germany, Scandinavia and England, ranging from the mid-fifth century (one example) to the seventh and eighth centuries. These include one with six strings from a Germanic warrior's grave dating from the sixth century at Lupfenberg, Tuttlingen, Baden-Württemberg, close to the Danube (Panum 1971: 93, fig. 76; Álvarez 1985: 215, fig. 9), and the remains of another lyre, also from a warrior's grave, at Oberflacht, also near Tuttlingen (sixth-seventh century). Lyre bridges with notches for six strings have emerged from eighth- and ninth-century Sweden and Germany, tenth-century (Viking) York and the Netherlands, and from a thirteenth-century level at the site of the Grand Louvre in Paris.

These lyres include "continental" or "Germanic" types which are slightly waisted, narrowing towards the centre, and those with straight arms which seem to have been characteristic of Insular practice (see Bruce-Mitford 1980). Examples of the latter have been found in archaeological excavations at Sutton Hoo (early seventh century; see *fig. 35*), Taplow and Bergh Apton from around the same date.²⁸ Waisted round lyres, such as are depicted on many continental manuscripts, are rare on surviving Insular carvings: an example occurs at Masham (*fig. 30*), and perhaps also at Sockburn and Tynemouth (Trench-Jellicoe 1991: figs. 1–3), but these last are now too worn to establish the presence of details such as this.

Two instances of early medieval Anglo-Saxon manuscripts provide excellent illustrations of this Insular or "Sutton Hoo" lyre type: the Vespasian Psalter (fig. 28) and the Durham Cassiodorus (fig. 29). In both the strings (six and five, respectively) are visible in their upper part only, but fade into the soundbox, and so are not fully described. There is no evidence of a bridge or tailpiece but the outline of the instruments, and the position in which they are held, indicate their identity without doubt. These illustrations are useful points of reference for problems arising from the carvings: their incompleteness as realistic representations of musical instruments is irrelevant to their purpose, which is to draw attention to David, King and Psalmist, not to structural details. The same awareness needs to be brought to bear when examining the stone carvings.

Illustration of lyres in central and western Europe goes back almost three millennia including, for example, the carving at Luna, Zaragoza (Spain), the oldest so far known, dating to the ninth or eighth century B.C. (see Álvarez 1985; 1989-90), as well as situla art of the Urnfield culture and of La Tène, e.g. Klein-Glein, Steiermark, Austria, and Sopron, Western Transdanubia, Hungary, both seventh century B.C. (see Eibner 1987; Megaw 1991: passim), and the later warrior's stele from Saint-Symphorien-en-Paule, Brittany (Département Côtes-du-Nord, France) from ca. 70 B.C. (fig. 36). Excavated finds of lyres and lyre fragments include what may be part of a yoke from a third century B.C. site at Dinorben, north Wales and another from a site at Dùn an Fheurain, south of Oban in western Scotland from the first or second century A.D. (see Megaw 1991: 647). There is a gap in chronology and geography until the sixth-/seventh-century A.D. finds from Germanic warrior graves discussed above, while there is no iconographic evidence so far attested for the periods which separate late La Tène situla art, the illustration from Paule (ca. 70 B.C.) and the Ionan (late-eighth-century A.D.) and Irish (ninth/tenth-century A.D.) crosses. But the practice of playing lyres continued well into the Middle Ages in Ireland and England (and probably Scotland), and as late as the nineteenth century in Wales.

Even if a wide diversity of shapes existed, there are features characteristic of Western European lyres which distinguish them from those of ancient Greece and Rome, including the round soundbox, sometimes with waisted arms, and the fact that their frames are monoxylous,

²⁸ For references, see Lawson 1981.



36. (?)Funerary stele, Saint-Symphorien-en-Paule (*ca.* 70 B.C.): figure with torc around his neck, holding a seven-stringed lyre. – Photo: H.Paitier, Direction des Antiquités de Bretagne et Conseil Général des Côtes d'Armor

whereas the Greco-Roman models have arms set into the soundbox at the perpendicular (see Álvarez 1985: 217ff. for a recent discussion of this question). Another difference in structure between older European types and their medieval equivalents appears to lie in the attachment of the yoke: the older type more closely resembled the classical Greek lyre in that the arms projected above it, though only slightly, as in the case of the Luna lyre, whereas in the medieval lyre type the arms and yoke formed a closed arc, i.e., the slightly curved yoke was fixed flush with the terminals of the arms.²⁹ The lyre from Paule, Brittany, seems to be midway between this and medieval lyres: its slightly waisted arms curve inwards at the top to form little arches terminating in two buffers or sockets into which the yoke is set,³⁰ a feature found also on illustrations from Celtic coins (see Vorreiter 1970–3, pl. 97 and 98; also Megaw 1991: 648).

²⁹ See Lawson 1981, 242–4 and figs. 7–9 for a discussion of the technological principles of construction of Anglo-Saxon lyres.

³⁰ An unusual feature of this carving is the presence of a second cross-bar at a short distance below the yoke and of almost equal thickness. It has been interpreted as a capodastre, which could function as a kind of (movable) fingerboard to shorten the strings in order to raise the pitch, as for example in the case of the modern guitar (see Le Potier, Arramond and Vendries 1989: 62–3; Álvarez 1989/90: 135). Vendries (1990: 6) has pointed to the incisions for the seven strings which are carved both on the bar as well as on the yoke above. This does not conform to any existing knowledge about plucked lyres from any part of the world; and so the theory remains inconclusive. I would suggest, alternatively, that it may have been intended to represent a carrying strap attached to the back of the instrument at some point along the arms. When engaged in playing, the player would insert his hand in order to support his wrist, enabling him to keep the instrument steady. This



37. Psalter of Folchard (ca. 865) p. 12: David with triangular harp. - Photo: Collection T. Seebass

Asymmetrical lyres present another problem since we are singularly lacking in other European examples, whether in terms of material finds or of imagery. It is tempting to interpret them either as possible transitional types between lyres and triangular frame harps or as carvings modelled on a Near Eastern source which depicted an already archaic lyre (Panum quoted in Rensch 1969: 22). On the other hand, Rensch herself believed that the Muiredach's Cross chordophone (*fig. 7*) and that on the South Cross at Kells (*fig. 6*) closely resembled a triangular harp, but since she does not discuss the clearly demarcated bridge on the former, it suggests that she saw them as "almost triangular" instruments rather than in strict organological terms (1969: 24ff.). This is borne out also by her observations on Kirk Michael (*ibidem*: 25), which she discusses in a similar vein while failing to draw attention to its (admittedly narrow) base with attached stringholder which clearly identifies it as a lyre. Nevertheless, it may be worth exploring her observation with more consideration, but first let us discuss the Insular evidence for frame harps.

The only instances of early medieval Insular carvings of triangular chordophones appear on monuments in the north of England (one example), the Pictish area of south-east Scotland (seven examples) and Argyll in south-west Scotland (one possible example). The earliest of these, at Nigg and Aberlemno, are contemporary with the oldest west-European manuscript illustrations of triangular frame harps from the late eighth/early ninth century such as those in the Utrecht Psalter (second quarter of the ninth century) and the Psalter of Folchard (*ca.* 865; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 53, p. 12; see *fig.* 37), though since it is not possible to see from the St Gall manuscript whether the strings are accessible from the other side, the possibility remains that this is a representation of a delta-shaped psaltery.³¹

feature occasionally occurs in manuscript illustrations (see the Durham Cassiodorus (fig. 29), and the sketch in Lawson (1981: 239, fig. 7), but is unusual on stone carvings. What distinguishes the lyre from Paule is that the figure is facing forwards, holding the instrument against his chest and gripping the arms with his hands, thus not in a playing position, but rather displaying it for view. In a realistic situation, therefore, the carrying strap would indeed be hanging down on the reverse side of the instrument, suspended from the arms. The point about the incisions for the strings can easily be challenged: in cutting the strings into the stone, the sculptor incised them lengthwise between the yoke and the top of the soundbox, which inevitably resulted in incising this "bar". Neither hypothesis can be proved, but we need to be mindful of the limitations of the medium within which the sculptor was working.

31 It is equally unclear if the still earlier example carved in ivory on the book cover of Dagulf's Psalter (late eighth century, *fig. 38*) is an example of a harp or a psaltery, but if the former, it is another important source, not least because it is contemporary with the earliest of the Pictish harps, that of Nigg. However, even if it is to be interpreted as a harp, it is closer to the antique model, being without a forepillar. Other examples of triangular delta-shaped chordophones are found in Byzantine sources such as the Psalter, Rome, Vatican Library, MS graec. 752, fol. 5r, dating to 1059 (Seebass 1973b: pl. 84), the Bible of Charles the Bald, *ca.* 850 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin 1, fol. 215v; Seebass 1973b: pl. 98). Cf. also Seebass 1973b: pls. 76–8, 99, 121, and text pp. 50–3.



38. Dagulf's Psalter, ivory cover (late 8th century): triangular harp. – Photo: Collection T. Seebass

This problem besets the interpretation of many early medieval illustrations of trilateral chordophones. Unless the area behind the string band is visible — i.e. showing the player's hand, or clothing, or other background — there is no certainty that the instrument is a harp and not a psaltery, i.e., in which the strings are stretched over a soundbox from end to end. The history of psalteries in the West prior to the twelfth century is unclear while there is until now no evidence to suggest their existence at all in an Insular context up to this period.

The harps in the Utrecht Psalter are characterised by having their stringholder or neck at the top and a forepillar to complete the frame, unlike examples from the East Mediterranean and Western Asia which have the soundbox above the forepillar. A later development, that of a C-shaped shoulder between soundbox and neck, and which may be an Insular development, is first evidenced in an Insular source, that of the manuscript Harley 603, a copy of the Utrecht Psalter made at Canterbury (Rensch 1972: 29). Monumental carvings of this instrument, as well as a proliferation of miniatures, do not occur until the eleventh century onwards, for example, on the Irish book shrine known as *Breac Maedóic*, or the Shrine of St Mogue (*fig. 10*).

A number of the Pictish examples are characterised by a robust soundbox — Nigg, Aldbar and Lethendy (figs. 21, 23 and 27) — which suggests more than a stylised imitation of a pictorial representation. All of them have a clear triangular frame, even where the strings are not in evidence. Dupplin and Monifieth (figs. 25 and 26) stand slightly apart from the others in having a less marked soundbox, suggesting comparison with the delta-shaped chordophones of the Utrecht Psalter, the Psalter of Folchard and other Carolingian and later examples (for further discussion, see Seebass 1973a; 564; 1973b: 150–3). Aberlemno (fig. 22) has a downward-curving soundbox and its forepillar is not so strongly delineated. This may be due to its close proximity to the upper edge of the frame within which it is placed, but nonetheless, its outline bears a strong resemblance to the stringed instrument depicted on the ivory cover of the Psalter of Dagulf (fig. 38), a late eighth-century Carolingian artefact thought to be of the Palace

School of Aix-la-Chapelle (now Paris, Louvre Nr. MR 370), which most closely resembles a Near Eastern harp turned upside down, i.e., so that the stringholder is uppermost (cf. note 31).

Lawson (1981) has identified a triangular harp on the Masham column (*fig. 30*) and while this is plausible, the outline is but barely visible and so it is not possible to evaluate details such as relative thickness of the frame. The tenth-century monument at Ardchattan (*fig. 19*) may represent part of a triangular harp. It is held by a figure apparently seated on the ground; part of the string-arm and soundbox are visible and meet in a deep curve, rather similar to Aberlemno. Nonetheless, although the soundbox slopes acutely in the manner of a harp, it is impossible to be sure that it was not intended as some kind of lyre.

The presence of frame harps on Pictish monuments has presented a problem in music iconography: so early a representation of harps did not seem to accord with the general assumption about the history of this instrumental type. Henderson (1986: 111) believes that these carvings, along with other aspects of Pictish art, are indicative of sculptural activity well in keeping with developments further south, i.e., in Northumbria and in south-east England, at Canterbury: in other words, that the Picts were working from one or more recent models brought from elsewhere; and that these were limited in number, hence the similarity of the representations of harps. This accords also with observations made elsewhere (Seebass 1973b: 153–4) that realism was not to any extent a feature of psalter illustration before *ca.* 1000.

None of this solves the wider problem of the development and distribution of the frame harp in western Europe; but it provides a less isolationist perspective by placing these images firmly in their wider European context. That the Harley Psalter and other eleventh-century English manuscripts seem to include the "developed" type is indicative of innovations in the structure of the instrument, perhaps a later stage of developments which were already in train (in the Insular region at least) in the late eighth century, as may possibly be suggested by the curve of the Nigg harp. It is interesting, by comparison, to note that no Irish representation of a triangular chordophone occurs before the late eleventh-century Breac Maedóic (fig. 10), a metal book shrine with a depiction of a harp with some eight strings and at least twelve tuning pegs. It has a clearly delineated C-shaped curve joining the thick soundbox to the string arm, while the latter, though not quite straight, does not feature the deep curve of later harps. In this respect it is similar to the "advanced developed" harp, in Rensch's terminology (cf. Rensch 1972: 30ff., and 35, n. 34), on fol. 28r of the Harley Psalter (reproduced ibidem: 29), a feature which was to increase with the greater robustness of Insular harps as exemplified in the (?) fourteenth-/fifteenth-century harp now preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, believed to be the oldest surviving west European harp.³² The Harley illustration belongs to a part of the manuscript executed ca. 1040-1070, and therefore almost contemporary with the book shrine, which is not to suggest that the one was used as a model for the other, but rather to point to the fact that such a technological advance must have been established by this time, and so can be taken to be realistically depicted in a contemporary illustration.

Returning to an earlier point, namely, that evidence for asymmetrical lyres could provide a possible link in the development of triangular frame harps: if, for example, asymmetrical lyres were current, they might well have provided the technological basis and an appropriate design for native construction of triangular frame harps. Whether or not harps without forepillars were known in the greater region of north-west Europe (and to date we have evidence to suggest

³² Both the dating and place of origin of this harp have been queried by Ó Floinn who suggests the fifteenth or sixteenth century for its manufacture, and expresses the view that it is not possible to establish conclusively whether it was made in Ireland or in Scotland. See *Treasures of Ireland* 1983: 180.

only that *illustrations* of them may have been copied from images from further east), their representation in imported Christian iconography could have led to experimentation involving the technology of the lyre, i.e. with mortice-and-tenon attachment (see Lawson 1981: 243, fig. 9 for a sketch of this principle).

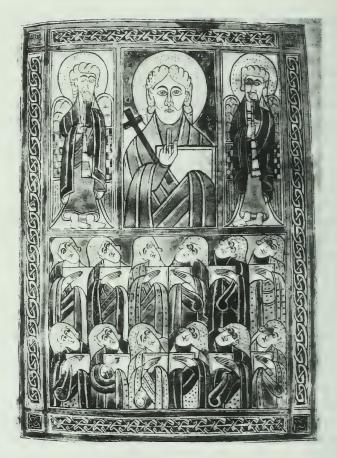
Although by no means certain, it may be that triangular harps without forepillar were never used in northwest European musical practice, but that the frame harp was based upon artefacts and/or representations thereof imported through ecclesiastical networks along with many other Christian institutional furniture. This could explain the development of a deeper soundbox as a subsequent improvement of the primary model, leading eventually to the C-shaped arch and the deeper neck. Perhaps asymmetrical lyres became obsolete at an earlier date; this could help explain why the round-topped version is not only that more commonly represented on Insular iconography, but also why it survived — albeit at a socially less prestigious level — through the Middle Ages and beyond.³³ In spite of this, however, I believe that the question of frame harps needs to be kept open: the debate so far has depended too heavily, even exclusively, on the iconographic record.

3.2. Aerophones

In relation to chordophones, the number and variety of aerophones are more restricted on all of the monuments. Single pipes occur on Irish examples only: at Monasterboice, Durrow and Clonmacnois (*figs. 7, 8 and 13*). All of these instruments look alike and all are situated on the right arm of the cross in Last Judgement scenes, suggesting the Last Trump. They are held up to the mouth in a playing position, pointing downwards, all of them showing a slight widening at the terminal suggesting a number of possibilities: the natural flare of an animal tibia, a conical bore, or an animal horn attachment serving as a bell. The first possibility would indicate a fipple flute, i.e., with a block inserted in the mouthpiece to channel the column of air against the distal edge of the window. The other two indicate some kind of reed instrument. Given the context of the scene, another, perhaps more likely, possibility is that they were intended to represent wooden or bark horns or trumpets, such as would have been associated with ritual announcements, in this case, that of St Michael the Archangel announcing the Day of Judgement.

A Last Judgement depicted in the St Gall Gospels, MS 51, p. 267, an Irish manuscript from the second half of the eighth century, shows Christ in Glory with a trumpeting angel on either side (*fig. 39*). The metal bands of their instruments are clearly seen, and the slight flare of the bell is realistic. They are pointing downwards, with the mouthpiece held up to the mouth by the player's

33 Similarly there may well have been a variety of chordophone types which have not survived in either the iconographic or the archaeological records; the literary record suggests that there were. Old and Middle Irish references to musical instruments and to their component parts provide evidence of a developed terminology. Three terms have been associated with stringed instruments: cruit, which was the most usual, timpan, and more rarely, céis. The first of these almost certainly applied to a lyre and later to a harp; the second seems to have been associated only with lyres and has been the subject of an extended study (Buckley 1978); the third, in a rare reference, has been described as a type of small cruit used to accompany the larger instrument, but it was applied more usually to the yoke or stringholder of both types of chordophone, cruit and timpan. None of these sources was intended as a theoretical treatise or to serve musicological enquiry. As in the case of Anglo-Saxon and other medieval vernacular literatures, such descriptions are embedded in mythological and politico-historical tales, praise poetry, etc. They provide much insight on the role and status of music and musicians and occasional passing observations on details of use to organologists; but they require cautious interpretation, primarily for information of a socio-cultural nature, and only secondarily as a guide to the physical world. There is insufficient space to discuss such details here: I am currently in the course of preparing a study of references to music in medieval Irish literature.



39. St Gall Gospels (second half of 8th century) p. 267: Last Judgement, angels blowing horns or trumpets. – Photo after Henry 1965

left hand and the right hand supporting the instrument at a mid-way point. Two similar examples are included in the David scene on the Vespasian Psalter (*fig.* 28), and on the slabs at Aberlemno and Hilton of Cadboll (*figs.* 22 and 24); there the instruments are held pointing upwards.

There are also two almost complete surviving instruments of this type from early medieval Ireland. One, found in 1956 during work on the River Erne in Co. Fermanagh, is 58 cm in length, and now housed in the Ulster Museum, Belfast (*fig. 40*). It is made from two hollowed-out pieces of yew lapped together by a series of bronze mounts. The fret pattern carved on one of the mounts has enabled scholars to suggest an eighth-/ninth-century dating for this object (Waterman 1969, 101ff.). Another example, made on precisely the same principle, was found in a Co. Mayo bog in 1791 (*fig. 41*). It is over three times as long (192 cm) and cannot be so precisely dated because of lack of detailed distinguishing marks such as exist on the Erne find (Waterman 1969: figs. 1 and 2). A number of possibly early medieval finds of curved wooden horns also exist (see *fig. 42*).

And so we can be in no doubt that high cross illustrations bore a direct relation to known practices. Whether their function was purely as signalling instruments, however, or whether they also served more "musical" functions, is perhaps something which needs to be considered further. This question applies particularly to the example on the Monasterboice cross (*fig. 7*)







- 40. Horn of yew with bronze mounts (8th/9th century). Photo: Ulster Museum
- 41. Horn of yew with bronze mounts (?9th century). Possible playing position. Photo: A. Buckley
- 42. Curved wooden horn, possibly early medieval. Photo: A. Buckley

where the aerophone player is seated behind the string player in one group with the chanting monks. In other words, was this scene intended literally to convey a trumpeting St Michael and a lyre-playing David/monk as a collection of disparate images? Or does their disposition on the monument suggest that they were playing in concert, or, at least, representing earthly, ecclesiastical activities as well? It may be that the disposition of the figures is due solely to the resolution by the sculptors of the very real, practical problems of spatial distribution rather than

to their concern with realistic representation of a composite scene. In the case of Durrow (fig. 8), the order of the instruments is reversed; there the player of the aerophone does appear to have a feathered wing, suggesting the greater likelihood of St Michael. On Clonmacnois (fig. 13), the group of the Faithful is led by an aerophone player with no chordophone present on this section of the cross.

On the shaft of the east face of the Cross of the Scriptures (the same side as Christ in Judgement), are three possibly related scenes: the lowest panel is thought to depict the founding in 547 of the monastery by St Ciarán, its first abbot, and King Dermot; the next above depicts two bearded men holding a horn as though it were being offered by one to the other; and the third panel is perhaps an *Ecce Homo* (reproduced in Richardson and Scarry 1990: pl. 64). Another ecclesiastical representation figures on the Monifieth shaft where the panel above the harper is occupied by two ecclesiastics each holding a horn with its bell turned upwards (*fig. 26*). A small animal occupies the top right-hand corner of the scene. It is not possible to ascertain whether these ecclesiastical representations refer to sounding horns or to horns for drinking or containing other liquid such as holy oil for anointing (as, for example, in the case of the Anointing of David by Samuel). However, there are literary references which suggest that holy men used sounding horns and these may also have had liturgical associations. As such considerations extend beyond my purpose in this section, I shall return to them below.

There are a few depictions of horns in other contexts also. The shaft of the broken cross at Old Kilcullen features a horn-player on a lively horse (*fig. 43*); the rider has a long flowing Pictish pigtail; long horns or trumpets are depicted on Aberlemno No. 3 (*fig. 22*) and on the Hilton of Cadboll slab (*fig. 24*) in the context of the hunt, but their resemblance in detail to the two players in the composite David scene from the Vespasian Psalter is striking (as has been noted also by Henderson 1967: 156; 1986: 104). A ninth-century Pictish stone carving from Dunkeld also features a mounted figure blowing a large curved horn (see Ritchie 1989: 34).

The nature of the representation of triple pipes is not so easily explained. There are five instances in all, three of them Scottish: the earliest is on St Martin's Cross, Iona (late eighth century; fig. 17); two are from the tenth century, one on the cross-decorated stone at Ardchattan (fig. 19), the other on the Lethendy carving in the Pictish region (fig. 27); and two Irish, both on early-tenth-century crosses, Muiredach at Monasterboice (fig. 7), and the Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnois (fig. 14). They consist of three tubes of unequal length, of which the first two are closer in length in comparison with the third, presumably functioning as two melody pipes and a drone, respectively. The Iona instrument is now too worn to admit interpretation of any details, but the other Scottish examples show three narrow tubes, two of which are controlled by the player's right hand, the third by the left. (The relative length of the tubes on the Ardchattan illustration can no longer be determined because of damage at the edge of the stone.) The playing position appears to be identical on the Irish crosses but the instruments are sturdier, if not larger (an aspect about which one can never be sure in this medium), while the third and longest pipe appears to have a flared terminal. Where visible, the right hand is held below the left in all cases.

No other Insular depictions of such an instrument are known from this time. One occurs in an English bestiary of the twelfth century (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 602, fol. 10) in which the conical shape of the tubes is clearly indicated (*fig. 44*). It is played by a devil, the usual medieval association for this and other reedpipes (see Becker 1966: 112–13). The relative position of the hands is the same as on the stone carvings. Another, from the York Psalter (Glasgow, University Library, MS U.3.2., fol. 21v, *ca.* 1170) is less clear and may even perhaps have been intended as a rough depiction of a set of panpipes. It has three parallel tubes held up



43. Old Kilcullen Cross, west shaft, top panel (9th/10th century): hunting scene with horn-playing rider. – Photo: Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland

to the player's mouth, left hand below the right, the shortest pipe to his left, unlike all the other examples discussed (fig. 45).³⁴

A number of suggestions has been made concerning these carvings, but the absence of any other sources makes it difficult to determine whether they represent native practice or an imported iconographic theme. What is significant, however, is that they appear to suggest influence from west to east, i.e., from Ireland. Firstly, the Iona monument is closely linked with the Irish monastic movement of St Columcille and we have already noted the similarity in outline between its asymmetrical chordophone and that on the Carndonagh pillar, together with the fact that the player is seated on the ground with legs extended.³⁵ Secondly, the two Irish

34 Seebass (1973b: 45) refers to this as Doppelschalmei, incorrectly in my view.

³⁵ In both continental and Insular sources, there is a longstanding tradition of representing David and other musicians of high status seated on a throne. Those examples of a string player seated on the ground, however, occur only on the Iona crosses, the Carndonagh pillar, the Manx stone at Kirkmichael, and possibly (though less likely) on the Graiguenamanagh cross — as well as in the stylised representation on the decorated C in the Book of Kells. They are not numerous, therefore, and it may be significant that they do not occur on the scriptural crosses, which display more conventional images of Christian iconography (albeit not necessarily in a conventional biblical setting). It may be that it was more usual, in a secular context at least, for musicians to be seated on the ground, particularly when they gathered at the open-air conventions which were held once a year by the Irish kings (called aonach in Irish, an equivalent gathering to the Scandinavian ting). A hint of this is supplied by an illustration in John Derricke's Image of Ireland (1581), a report by an Elizabethan visitor. While contemptuous of much of what he saw there, in keeping with the political ideology of his class and time, he nonetheless provided insights into local practices of warfare, clothing, feasting and music-making. In his illustration of an Irish chieftain's feast, held outdoors, the chieftain and his entourage are seated at a long table while his harper is playing his instrument seated on the ground (fig. 46). It may also be relevant to note that the lyre-player/warrior on the Paule funerary stele appears to be seated crosslegged on the ground (fig. 36; see Le Potier, Arramond and Vendries 1989: 61).



44. English bestiary from Canterbury (12th century), fol. 10: illustration of a devil playing triple pipes. – Photo after Becker 1966.

examples probably pre-date the Ardchattan and Lethendy carvings; thirdly, Ardchattan, being in Argyll, was largely Irish influenced; fourthly, the Lethendy figure has pointed features and a beard, perhaps suggesting an Irish prototype (cf. Fisher and Greenhill 1971–72: 239). The puffed-out cheeks of the players on Clonmacnois, Monasterboice and Lethendy — and possibly Iona — imply interpretation from life.

Archaeological excavations have produced a multiplicity of bone and wooden fipple flutes, and reedpipes, particularly from the Viking age, i.e., from the ninth to the eleventh century and later (see Buckley 1990), as well as earlier wooden horns. There is a single instance of a flute player in an Irish Gospel Book of the late eighth or early ninth century, the Book of Mac Regol (*fig. 47*; also known as the Rushworth Gospels, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.19). The instrument looks like a highly credible, contemporary, small bone or wooden flute. It is held up to the mouth by a filigree figure, interwoven between his fingers, on the top left of the opening page of St John's Gospel; on the right-hand corner is a brightly painted face of a woman with yellow hair parted in the centre, and two long plaits which she raises as though to uncover her ears in order to hear the flute.³⁶

Panpipes made of boxwood have been identified from the tenth-century Viking site at York and are depicted on the Royal Portal of the Norman Cathedral at Chartres (twelfth century). These have had a long and wide distribution in northern and central Europe, and can be traced back to Hallstatt and La Tène situla art (Eibner 1987; Megaw 1991). Finds and depictions from

³⁶ For a colour reproduction, see Richardson 1985: pl. VII. The scene has been interpreted as an illustration of the opening words of Eriugena's *Homily on the prologue to the Gospel of St John:* "The voice of the mystic Eagle resounds in the ears of the Church." (see Richardson 1984: 46).

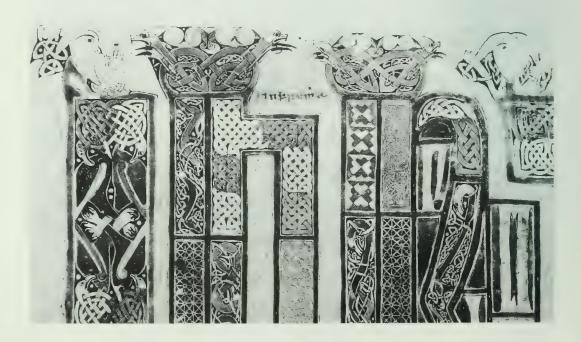


45. York Psalter (ca. 1170), fol. 21v: player of triple pipes in lower part of frame. – Photo: Collection T. Seebass



- Now when into their fenerdholdes, the knaues are entred in, To finite and knocke the cattell downe, the hangmen doe beginne. One plucketh off the Ores cate, which he even now did weare: Anothe lacking pannes, to dople the field, his bide prepare. These thermes attend by on the fire the ferming by the scale: And Feyer smelleast ineaking in, doth preace amongst the best.
- who play thin Komill) toyes the Ape, by counterfetting Paull: For which they doe a ward him then, the dighed coome of all. Who being let, because the cheere, is deemed little worth: Except the lame be intermirt, and lat'd to with Frish myith. 230th Pards, and Happen, is prepards, which by their cunning art, Woe Arike and cheare by all the gettes, with comfort at the hart.

46. 16th-century woodcut of a harper and reciter performing at Chieftain MacSuibhne's feast. - Photo after Derricke 1883



47. Book of Mac Regol (2nd half of 8th century), fol. 127r: figure playing a flute to listening woman. -Photo after Richardson 1984

France can be dated to the Gallo-Roman period (Buckley 1990: passim). Similarly, double pipes like the Greek aulos and Roman tibia appear to have existed in the northern regions over several millennia; for example, those on art of the East Hallstatt culture, such as on the bronze statuette from Százhalombatta, Hungary (sixth century B.C.) and on the situla from Klein-Glein (seventh century B.C.). Austria (see Eibner 1987: 312, Tafel 4; also Megaw 1991: 643), both of which are characterised by wide mouths or terminals. Apart from these examples, so remote in both time and space, we have no other link with early medieval Cisalpine Europe and it will remain an open question whether there was continuity of practice in the use of such aerophones or whether these were reintroduced from the south during the time of expansion of the Roman Empire.

I suggest that there is every likelihood of continuity of practice, with change and adaptation in the technology and function of such instruments according to the types of societies which used them. The extent of material evidence for all manner of simple aerophones leads one to the inevitable conclusion that the range and variety which once existed have simply not survived in the archaeological record because of the perishable nature of their fabric, mostly wood and bone. Indeed the number of Middle-Irish linguistic terms provides eloquent support for this hypothesis including at least one instance of a term for double pipes, *cuislind ndégabail* (two-forked or two-pronged), in reference to an instrument carved by a prince from certain saplings: even when he became king he was never parted from them, for they brought peace to the surroundings, including also the animal world (see Meyer 1903: 54.10; Thurneysen 1933: 118.10).

4. Contexts and ideological function of the images

Topoi which include representations of chordophones are the Crucifixion, the Anointment of David, the Last Judgement, and various images of ecclesiastics: those with aerophones are confined to representations of the Last Judgement and to hunting scenes.

4.1. Crucifixion

In the case of the Crucifixion, the string player is not directly part of the scene but in a separate panel, as on the four Barrow Valley crosses (figs. 2–5), or one of several separate images as on St Martin's Cross, Iona (fig. 17). These seem to suggest David's role as an Old Testament prophet foretelling the events of the Life of Christ (see Ó Carragáin 1988: 15). They may have had a more immediate association also, representing a court musician performing a funeral lament, a dirge in honour of his dead lord, as would certainly have occurred in a contemporary context.

4.2. Anointment of David

Versions of the Anointment of David which include a stringed instrument occur on four monuments, in Ireland, Man, and the north of England: Kinnitty (fig. 11). Kirk Michael (fig. 20), Sockburn and Tynemouth (both reproduced in Trench-Jellicoe 1991: figs. 1–3). Here it is likely that the instrument is included in order to emphasise the identity of those involved: it is part of David's equipment. The mid-ninth-century Kinnitty example is the oldest, and it has been suggested by Trench-Jellicoe that the Manx and English examples are the result of influence introduced from Ireland by the Vikings (1991: 74ff.). This combination of images

represents one very specific strand in the iconographic transmission of this scene, the majority of which do not display a musical instrument.

On the Manx and English representations, Samuel holds a horn of oil in accordance with the Old Testament text (Samuel I.xvi, 1ff.). The horn is usual also on other Irish carvings of this narrative which do not include David's stringed instrument (see Roe 1949: 41, fig. 1); but at Kinnitty Samuel raises a bucket or situla in his right hand and holds a crozier in his left, a unique local interpretation. An older Insular depiction of David anointed from a horn occurs in a manuscript containing Paulinus of Nola's *Carmina*, now in the Public Library of St Petersburg (MS Q.v.XIV.1; see Alexander 1978: no. 42), in the form of an outline drawing on the flyleaf. The manuscript, which dates from the eighth/ninth century, has been ascribed to Ireland or Northumbria, making this the oldest extant Insular version of the scene.³⁷

4.3. Last Judgement — Christ in Glory

There is an overwhelming emphasis on musical instruments in representations of this scene. Whether the chief musician (on Christ's right) should in each case be interpreted as David is open to question since here is the only occasion when the musician is presented in company, not in the "classic" grouping of David as king and prophet surrounded by his liturgists, but rather of the gathered company of the blessed. It is likely that the illustration may be placed within this iconographic and theological convention, but it may have another significance also. For example, the crowd scene on the right arm of Muiredach's Cross, Monasterboice, includes monks, of whom one holds a book and another points to what is written there. Not a choir of angels or an ethereal heavenly host, but a realistic group of people from the time. Rensch (1969: 24) has interpreted this scene as an illustration of a tale concerning St Colmcille which related that on the Day of Resurrection it would be his duty to assemble the Irish at Monasterboice and lead them to St Patrick at Clonmacnois.

Although mindful of McKinnon's amply illustrated warning about the inadvisability of attempting literal readings of sources which contain layers of theological allegory (McKinnon 1968, passim), it does seem as though this scene and a number of others may lend themselves to interpretation as more localised, perhaps contemporary settings. And here I would venture to suggest that the reason may lie in the fact that unlike psalters and psalm commentaries, which were made for use by clerics, whose education and training equipped them with the skills necessary for intellectual interpretation of the literary texts, the stone carvings were intended for a wider audience for whom these pictures served as instruction in the Christian way of life. Rather like in the Biblia Pauperum, the illustrated Bibles of a later date, the imagery was not so recondite as often occurs in patristic commentary, but rather, it represented an attempt to communicate with those less well informed, whether young students at monastic schools or lay members of local communities.

So by way of response to McKinnon (1968: 16), who searched in vain for any representation of Psalm 150 which includes monks in a choir with musical instruments, I would venture to propose the Monasterboice Christ in Glory scene (*fig.* 7) as a possible example: it contains players of a stringed and wind instrument, a figure who holds a book, probably a copy of the psalter, another who points to the text, and behind, a group of singing monks. In the spirit of

³⁷ See Henderson 1986: 99 (following Alexander 1978: 55) also regarding a lost folio from the early-eighth-century Vespasian Psalter which, according to a fifteenth-century source, contained a representation of Samuel.

McKinnon's well-justified argument, one could not categorically state from this image alone that it represents actual liturgical practice: for instance, it might represent the monks at rehearsal, though this may seem to split hairs when in fact we know little about Insular liturgical customs from so early a date. A passage in an eighth-century Old Irish treatise on the psalter has been cited variously as a reference to harp accompaniment of psalm-singing in an Irish context (Fleischmann 1952: 47; McGrath 1979: 230). In fact the reference is a paraphrase of Cassiodorus's *In Psalmos*, Caps. VI–VIII (ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Patrologia Latina*, vol. 70, col. 16), in which the scribe has used the Irish term *cruit*, a stringed instrument, for Cassiodorus's *instrumentum musicum* (Meyer 1894: 31 n. 275, 89 n. 285). While we cannot exclude the possibility that such an account may have had a local explanation, the Irish commentary is however addressed to Old Testament practice.³⁸ We are aware from other sources that a six-stringed chordophone (vaguely termed *cithara*) was adapted for the purpose of teaching the chant (see Huglo 1986: 189); the reference to the number of strings strongly suggests that a contemporary lyre may have been in question.

The inclusion of a string player in the company of ecclesiastics, as on the Shrine of the Stowe Missal, is suggestive of an overlap of David Musician, musician-cleric and court musician. This miniature three-stringed instrument is reminiscent of numerous literary references to a small three-stringed instrument called *timpan* in Middle Irish (see note 33), but in view of the confined space available to the craftsman, we should be cautious of a literal interpretation of the image.

On the other hand there are literary references to a light stringed instrument which travelling clerics used to carry about with them, attached to their girdles. One such instrument is succinctly termed *ocht-tédach* (literally "eight-stringed") in a tale thought to have been taken from the ninth-century Psalter of Cashel, now preserved in the fifteenth-century manuscript known as the Book of Lecan (Dublin, Royal Irisch Academy, MS 23 P 2). It concerns an abbot who appeared before a ninth-century King of Cashel, took his *ocht-tédach* from his girdle, played sweet music and sang a poem of supplication to the king (Fleischmann 1952: 48; McGrath 1979: 228). Giraldus Cambrensis too made reference to such a practice though his use of the past tense suggests that it was no longer current by the twelfth century. In a reference to the power of music to arouse the spirits, and to promote religious fervour, he mentioned that in Ireland at an earlier date bishops, abbots and holy men used to carry stringed instruments around and take pleasure in playing piously upon them (see Fleischmann 1952: 48).

The representation of the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes on the Kells cross (*fig. 12*) includes a musician playing his stringed instrument, seated opposite to Christ. It is likely that the reference here also is to a local context. There is no mention of musicians in the New Testament versions of the tale, but it would seem that here is a realistic representation of a large feast or gathering in an Irish setting.

The rich variety of Irish literary references to the presence of musicians emerges here and there on the sculptured stones. For example, a passage in the late-tenth-century poem *Saltair na Rann*, preserved in a twelfth–century manuscript (now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley B.502, fols. 19–40), includes a description of David playing his stringed instrument before King Saul, seated with his back to the wall next to Jonathan (Buckley 1978: 56):

³⁸ A discussion of implications for early medieval uses of organum, polyphony, or other types of multi-part music in continental or Insular contexts would exceed the scope of this paper. For other references and attendant problems of interpretation, see Münxelhaus 1982 and Huglo 1986: 191–2. They are especially relevant also since they address the commentaries of John Scottus Eriugena (d. ca. 877) and the possible evidence for Irish practices in particular.

David was, with his back to the wall, once in the presence of the king in the royal household with the pleasant gratitude of the crowded assembly sharing a seat with Jonathan.

The sound of songs in fair form, making music without deceit, for the king, the host, without sore sickness, playing his sweet-stringed *timpan*.

At a broader level, it is important to bear in mind that a stringed instrument was a symbol of nobility, political power, the dignity of kingship and the solemnity of ritual occasions, as well as being associated with an élite warrior class in northern and central Europe for around two millennia. Although documentation is perforce scanty and contains many lacunae, the evidence suggests a continuity of practice in the high-status use of lyres in these regions extending back to the late Bronze and early Iron Ages. The oldest source known at present is the lyre carved on a warrior stele at Luna, Zaragoza, dating to the ninth/eighth century B.C. and another from Zarza Capilla, Badajoz, dating to about one century later (see Álvarez 1985). From the Hallstatt zones of Central Europe (modern Hungary, Romania, Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, North Italy) lyres are depicted on situla art in the context of dancing and music-making, while a third (presumed) funeral stele for a warrior has been found in Britanny at Saint-Symphorien-en-Paule, in the department of Côtes-du-Nord, dating to ca. 70 B.C. — in that case the lyre is held by a figure sitting cross-legged who wears a torc or neckband usually associated with Gallo-Roman warriors (fig. 36; see Álvarez 1989–90: 135). From the early middle ages, lyres found in the graves of Germanic, Frankish and Anglo-Saxon warriors, dating between the fifth and eighth century, provide evidence of the status of these instruments among an élite caste.

Literary references from Anglo-Saxon and, in particular, Irish sources abound in their rich and colourful accounts of the status and presence of string players. It would therefore have been an obvious idea to include a stringed instrument with representations of David in all kinds of contexts. If ancient prophet, then also an exact equivalent of the contemporary court musician, medium of information and instruction on the genealogy of the ruling family; court poet, servant and agent of his lord at all times.

The Irish sources are the richest (because more diverse) in information on social status and function. The *filid* or court poet was much more than a poet in the modern sense: in addition to serving his lord in the creation of praise poetry, he was also the guardian of official history, the keeper of the records of genealogy and birth, the counsellor and official public voice. The recitation of these texts was the duty of a functionary known as *reacaire* ("recounter") who was accompanied by a player of a stringed instrument known as *cruit*. The player of this instrument was the only skilled craftsman with the legal status of a freeman, a status which he enjoyed by virtue of his profession, whether or not he was attached to a royal household; membership of the nobility was otherwise strictly determined by blood kinship, and it appears rare for other musicians to have had free status.

Looked at in this way, it seems less important to have an inflexible, "hard" view of interpreting all musician images as of necessity representing David or one of his assistants. That this may well be the case, or that individual carvings may be "cuts" copied from existing David imagery elsewhere, is but one element in an image which had immediate local significance. (It may, incidentally, be one of the reasons why David is not represented as a king in these carvings; it would not have been an appropriate role. On the other hand, the string player in the service of Christ the King was an exact parallel to the earthly situation.)

Thus while we see evidence for the continuity of a long-established history of representing a certain class of musicians and of their association with high-status functions (cf. Seebass 1987: 147), we also note the long-established process of propagating the Christian message by giving new interpretations to existing images. This theme has been explored exhaustively by McCone (1990) in his study of Irish literary sources and there is much scope for developing it further with respect to the plastic arts in particular.

The basis for many of these images represents an adaptation of materials introduced from elsewhere; the very fact of producing Christian art is the essence of that process, since Christianity itself was imported from the world outside. But for any art to be reproduced, regardless of the degree of copying or adaptation it may undergo, it has to have meaning and significance for its patrons — in this case the church. And since this church was a missionary church, a preaching church, it follows that public images such as stone crosses were intended also for the instruction of the laity, for the nonspecialist, and indeed the non-Christian. The significance of using stringed instruments which were probably well-known to the onlookers is precisely underlined by the function of these monuments. The image of the good, Godfearing, God-serving string player who may set an example to those who serve the interests of earthly power also presented a challenge to the secular courts, i.e., the local chieftains.

Certain aerophones also had high status associations. There is a wealth of Middle Irish terminology which suggests that there were many different types which served a range of purposes. Similarly, horns and bells are portrayed as symbols of power, which too reflects local custom. This is shown on the east side of the Clonmacnois cross shaft (described above) which carries the image of two men dressed in long robes, one of whom has a sword in his belt and a horn in his right hand, symbolising secular power. Herity (1987: 125 and fig. 7.9) relates it to Byrne's observation of the importance of the "drinking horn of the wild ox" as a symbol of royal power among the Leinstermen (1987: 152–3), from which only the king could drink his ale. The Old Irish Laws contain details of fines imposed for the theft of a *corn buabhaill* ("horn of the wild ox"). The instrument depicted here, therefore, could be interpreted as such a royal drinking vessel, being passed symbolically down the dynastic line.

Such objects, when used as musical instruments, were symbolically powerful in secular life at least as far back as the Bronze Age, and this function was also adopted by churchmen to similar effect. There is evidence of sanctity (and sanction) being associated with sounding horns, comparable to holy men's use of bells in casting curses, a common form of ecclesiastical punishment. Gerald of Wales, who visited Ireland in the late twelfth century, commented on the association of horns with holy men who were known to carry them about the neck. A terrible fate befell anyone who blew on a saint's horn without authorisation — such as sickness, facial sores, which could be cured only through the holy man's intervention. Perhaps these instruments resembled that depicted in fig. 42.

In another version of Gerald's text, "St Patrick's horn" is carried around the neck by a poor Irish mendicant in Wales. He held it out to the crowd to be kissed; a priest named Bernard snatched it and blew upon it only to be struck with a double sickness: he became tongue-tied, and lost his memory.³⁹

Such vivid associations may also explain the presence of horns or trumpets in the Last Judgement scenes on the Irish crosses and on the cross shaft at Monifieth. It has been suggested elsewhere (Catalogue *Würzburg* 1989: 159–60, item 126) that they may have had a liturgical

³⁹ For a recent, detailed discussion of these references, and the use of musical instruments as saints' relics, see Buckley (forthcoming).

function: the horn from the bed of the River Erne (*fig. 40*) is decorated with a fret pattern on one of its bronze mounts (that nearest the distal end) which dates it to the eighth/ninth century; similar decoration is found on bells and on buckets of the period. The horn is made of yew, a sacred wood, and it is probably no mere coincidence that it was found in a river which lies close to two ancient monastic sites. Further, there are references in the Irish annals to horns with metal fittings and precious stones which were the property of the monasteries of Clonmacnois and Derry, as there are also references to such objects among the church treasury in twelfth-century Ireland. It is not always clear whether these sacred vessels were used for anointing as well as for drinking (see Section 3 above). However, as far as concerns interpretation of the anointing imagery we do have an exegetical text which provides an appropriate interpretation for the anointing scenes, whether or not they have any bearing at all upon local practice, namely, the allegorical interpretation by Pseudo-Athanasius of Psalm 97: 5–6 (quoted in McKinnon 1968: 7):

"Sing a psalm with the metal trumpet and the voice of the horn trumpet." A fervent and intense study of evangelical preaching is understood by the metal trumpets; whereas kingly dignity is understood by the horn because kings are anointed from a horn. And not only that, but the proclamation of kingship is made by the horn.

Long sounding-horns or trumpets are depicted in hunting scenes on the Pictish symbol-bearing slabs at Aberlemno (*fig.* 22), where two players of long trumpets are positioned behind two men on horseback, and at Hilton of Cadboll where the single rider is a woman (*fig.* 24), as well as a short horn at Old Kilcullen (*fig.* 43).

Triple pipes, on the other hand, may reflect an association with evil, or at least with low-level or secular activities — a point already raised by Harrison and Rimmer (1964: 9). On the two Irish crosses where such an instrument is represented, it occurs on the left side of Christ in Judgement where are also those condemned to hell with the devils. On Monasterboice (fig. 7) the triple pipes player is seated at Christ's left; the devils are ushering the condemned souls off the scene away from Christ, all of them with their backs turned to him; the piper, on the other hand, is not departing with them but is a third main figure in the scene, with his opposite number playing a stringed instrument to the right of Christ. He may be symbolising secular activity, or acting as a "sound messenger" on the part of Christ the Judge; but he is not himself among the damned. It is relevant to note that on the Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnois (fig. 14), there is a similar juxtaposition of chordophone and triple aerophone. This time the juxtaposition does not take place at the Judgement scene itself, where the only instrument is a horn or trumpet played by the figure at the head of the Blessed. On either side of the shaft of the cross, a lyre player and a triple pipes player are placed opposite to one another on the second panel down. It may be significant that other panels above and below the lyre player represent Jacob and the Angel, St John, and a hunting scene on the base; whereas those on the side of the triple pipes include St Michael fighting the devil, or perhaps Christ piercing Satan — there is a variety of opinion on this (see Richardson and Scarry 1990: 35) — and a representation of St Matthew. Thus here again we see the stringed instrument in association with the blessed: with peace, with faith, with the pursuit of souls for Christ (i.e. the hunting scene);⁴⁰ and the triple pipes associated with condemnation and defeat of the wicked. It may be that the two intertwined zoomorphic figures in the upper left-hand corner of that panel are intended to represent two devils locked in combat, or perhaps cats which in certain cultural contexts have associations with sinister magical powers.

⁴⁰ See Hicks 1980: 13, for a discussion of the representation of the hunt of the deer as an allegory for Christ's pursuit of the soul.

The Scottish representations, however, do not always lend support to this interpretation. The illustration on St Martin's Cross, Iona (fig. 17), perhaps gives the impression of a pastoral scene with the players sitting on the ground out in the open; the Ardchattan panels (fig. 19) include — in addition to the triple pipes — David(?) Warrior with spear and notched shield, a horn player and a string player, above which are depicted some animals. The Lethendy panel (fig. 27) — in addition to a harper and player of triple pipes — also includes a dog. Here there may be a more specific association of secular versus sacred, unholy versus holy activities, for the panel above features two hieratic figures holding horns, over whom hovers an angel. The implications in these illustrations may be somewhat less hard and fast, therefore, suggesting that such pipes had worldly associations and, in comparison to stringed instruments, low social status; perhaps in certain cases they were used to symbolise activities which were considered wasteful of time which might otherwise be spent in prayer and the praise of God.⁴¹

5. Conclusion

In this survey of early medieval Insular monuments I have attempted to account for what survives of representations of musical instruments, to identify them organologically as well as symbolically in terms of the ideas they were intended to convey. At the same time, while not discussing methodological problems per se, I have tried to demonstrate some of the difficulties of interpretation and provided some hypotheses which may assist in subsequent study of the monuments and in understanding the imagery more broadly in cultural terms. I would emphasise my own limitations in this: undoubtedly any study which focuses upon one type of artefact to the exclusion of all others will have overlooked many issues which are important to understanding the sources from an historical (including an art historical) point of view. Ideally such a study is best served by teamwork, by interdisciplinary collaboration, and by constant cross-reference to other aspects of structure, ornament and (not least) figural representation, details of clothing and other accourrements. What is more, in providing a complete overview of these representations, the study also points to the problems we face in acknowledging the numerous lacunae in the surviving record. We can guess at what may have been representative of local knowledge, and features of local practice, but without the longer-term perspectives of contemporary and older sources to draw upon, we necessarily have a limited view of the world of images that the artists knew.

What does seem clear with respect to the music iconography, however, is that there is overwhelming evidence of longer-established local practice, none of which is wholly indigenous in an exclusivist or remote sense, but which nonetheless has its own mark of identity which sets it apart from contemporary continental images. We are hampered in our survey by the absence of similar monuments and similar scenes from elsewhere; but there is every reason to take literally the popularity of round-topped lyres, and perhaps also their asymmetrical variety; similarly the presence of triple pipes, curved horns, long horns and trumpets. This observation contrasts strikingly with the practice of continental iconography, particularly that of manuscripts, where there is little intrusion of contemporary musical instruments until the eleventh century (Seebass 1987: 145). The explanation is perhaps not

⁴¹ This juxtaposition of what may be exemplary and non-exemplary activities can be compared with the upper and lower panels on the first folio of the twelfth-century St John's College psalter, where the biblical David and his entourage are contrasted with secular musicians and players of the day. See above, note 25.

solely due to the possibility that Insular practices may have been different and somewhat set apart over a longer period: the medium of stone carving, itself directed towards a more general, lay public, would have served a different and wider purpose than bibles and psalters which at this time were for the exclusive use of educated clerics.

The triangular harp, on the other hand, remains puzzling in terms of its earlier history; there is little doubt as to its identity on some of the Pictish monuments, an identity which seems to set itself apart from conventional antique models, implying details derived from practice, whether local or via imported imagery. At the very least, it suggests likely experimentation with this type of instrument from an earlier date than the beginning of the eleventh century when an "English" harp first appears in the manuscript record (i.e., in Harley 603). And while we cannot be certain that this was firstly an Insular development, the indications are that this may well have been so; and furthermore, that it may have been a characteristically Insular response to the antique model, based on technology traditionally applied to lyre-making. When viewed from this perspective, we may be reaching back several centuries prior to 1000 for the beginnings of this particular local development, a view which seems also to be endorsed by Henderson whose study, while taking stock of the musical instruments, embraces a much wider perspective of Davidic representation (1986: 111):

So much Pictish art in this period is, I believe, derived from the south that the presence of the triangular harp on Masham is no surprise, but rather a welcome explanation of what had seemed to be a precocious Pictish phenomenon [...]. In the present state of knowledge of the origin of the triangular harp I do not feel that it is necessary on its account to date Nigg any later than the second half of the eighth century. The Masham example only reveals how partial our evidence has been and it is highly unlikely that the first pictorial representation to be recognized is also the first ever representation of a strictly contemporary musical innovation [...]. However, Nigg no longer stands isolated but becomes simply the earlier of two Insular representations of the triangular harp, one of which is English, at Masham, and the other, ultimately English, at Nigg.

Over all of these details the symbolic representation of the Christian message takes precedence. But it must be borne in mind that the essence of the message is cloaked in local cultural norms, using models from the surrounding society to convey its meaning. For this reason, I believe that the question whether all of the musical images were intended to represent David must remain an open one. David iconography itself was a late importation into Insular art, directly and indirectly proceeding from Lombardo-Byzantine sources. David the Musician—to focus on our particular subject—was absorbed into an already existing repertory of representation of musicians and musical instruments: although the record is scanty, there is evidence of a long established tradition of lyre iconography in Europe north of the Alps which links stringed instruments with a warrior class, with nobility, and with service to a politically influential religious élite.

This tradition was adapted to Christian iconography in Insular art with the continued use of lyres as the favoured instrument, reflecting the social status of their players, a process precisely comparable with the taking over of pagan gods and goddesses by the Church and turning them into Christian saints, and indeed one reflected in the very choice of sites which had formerly served as pagan sanctuaries for some of the monastic foundations.

The representation of round-topped lyres accords entirely with archaeological evidence from north-west Europe in the early Middle Ages; how long they continued in practice until superseded by frame harps it is impossible to say, but it is likely to have varied from region to region — in the case of Wales, the use of a bowed lyre (the *crwth*) continued up to the early nineteenth century.

The Pictish sculptors appear to have favoured triangular frame harps for their representations of stringed instruments, which suggests that they were reflecting the presence of new *sculptural* influences. There is less scope there for interpretation of levels of meaning than in the case of the (later) Irish monuments because, with the exception of Lethendy, these instruments appear as one of several loosely connected symbols which merely identify David (as on Nigg, Aldbar and Aberlemno), or in the hands of isolated figures (as on Dupplin and Monifieth). Pictish harps represent an *iconographic* innovation from the south — as do certain other aspects of artistic style in the region. And so here, as in the English sources, we are dealing with art-historical practices which — through occasional departures from the norm — may provide a window on long-term changes in instrumental usage.⁴²

⁴² Since this article went to press, another monument from western Scotland has come to light, dating probably to the tenth century (*fig. 48*). Photographs of the fragment of a cross-shaft from Kilwinning, Ayrshire, together with its cross-head, were found in early 1992 by Mr Derek Craig of Durham. The original objects were believed lost until Mr Ian Fisher, of the Royal Commission, Edinburgh, recently located the shaftfragment in the North Ayrshire District Museum, Saltcoats, since when it has been photographed anew. The cross-head has not so far been found. I thank Mr Fisher for kindly bringing this information to my attention.

The carved illustration includes a figure in seated position, though without his throne, holding the frame of a triangular harp. Below that, another figure on horseback carries a spear in his right hand. The harp has a sturdy arm and soundbox with a slender but clearly delineated forepillar and perhaps seven or eight strings. It is now impossible to determine precise details because of surface damage. In profile, the instrument closely resembles the more-or-less contemporary carvings from Scoto-Pictish centres at Dupplin and Monifieth, as well as Lethendy (*figs.* 25–7; see discussion in 2.3.2).



48. Kilwinning, fragment of a cross-shaft (?10th century): triangular frame harp – Photo: The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

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Exhibition covering 4 periods from 1661 to the present, divided into the sections: (1) Statutes and Regulations; (2) Dance; (3) Instruction; (4) Repertoire.

DAVIDSON, CLIFFORD. Illustrations of the Stage and Acting in England to 1850. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991. (Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 16).

Includes two chapters concerning music: "Fools and Other Entertainers", and "Minstrels."

Debrabandère-Descamps, Béatrice, see Forneris, Jean, and Béatrice Debrabandère-Descamps

FINK, MONIKA. "Kompositionen nach Bildern von Arnold Böcklin." *Imago Musicae* 6 (1989): 143–61.

FONTANA, BILL. "The relocation of ambient sound: urban sound sculpture." *Leonardo* 20/2 (1987): 143–47.

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Questions the role of education in shaping public attitudes towards contemporary art.

GÉTREAU, FLORENCE. "Watteau und die Musik." Watteau (1684–1721). Edited by Margaret Morgan Grasselli, Pierre Rosenberg and Nicole Parmantier. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1984; 533–52.

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GODT, IRVING. "Ercole's Angel Concert." *Journal* of Musicology 7/3 (Summer 1989): 327–42.

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Graml, Karl. "Spontangesänge von Kindern zu Bildern." *Musik und Bildende Kunst*. Edited by Rudolf Dieter Kraemer. Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1990; 133–44. (*Musikpädagogische Forschung* 10).

Author's conclusions drawn from a collection of 2,000 recordings.

Grasselli, Margaret Morgan, and Pierre Rosenberg (eds; with support from Nicole Parmantier). *Watteau*: 1684-1721. [Exhibition Catalogue]. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1984.

— see also moureau, françois, and MARGARET MORGAN GRASSELLI

GRUHN, WILFRIED. "Begegnung der Künste: Kandinsky und Schönberg. Von der Hinfälligkeit des Schönen und der Harmonie der Dissonanz." Musik und Bildende Kunst. Edited by Rudolf Dieter Kraemer. Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1990; 61–80. (Musikpädagogische Forschung 10).

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- KOZAK, ANNA. "Faust, oder die Melancholie des Dichters: Die Zeichnungen zum 1. Heft der handschriftlichen Partitur zur Oper "Faust" von Antoni Radziwill." *Idea: Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunsthalle* 5 (1986): 95–109.
 - A discussion of illustrations by Jakob Götzenberger and Christian Friedrich Zimmermann in the manuscript score of Radziwill's opera "Faust", drawn from 1819–1824, in the Muzeum Narodowe, Warszawa, ms. 1222.
- Köhler, Armin. "Musikalische Graphik: ein Befund." *Musik und Gesellschaft* 37/11 (1987): 598–602.
 - Musical graphics, which emerged as an independent aesthetic domain in the 1950s, has a dual function: as a system of musical signs, and as autonomous drawing.
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- MARTIN, RICHARD, "Some lobsters, some elephants: surrealist reflections on Joseph Cornell's "A Pantry Ballet (for Jacques Offenbach)"." Arts Magazine 60/6 (February 1986): 30–2.
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- MENZHAUSEN, JOACHIM. "Die Situation der Bildenden Künste und Architektur in Dresden zur Schützzeit." Heinrich Schütz im Spannungsfeld seines und unseres Jahrhunderts I. Leipzig: Peters, 1987; 42–6.
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 - Papers read at an international conference, 24–6 October, 1990, Musée d'Orsay, Paris; preface by Maurice Agulhon.
- MOECK, HERMANN. "Narziss macht den Musen Konkurrenz." *Tibia* 14 (1989): 490–4.
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 MOLLIER, JEAN-YVES, see MICHAUD, STÉPHANE,
- Mollier, Jean-Yves, see Michaud, Stéphane, Jean-Yves Mollier, and Nicole Savy
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- NOLTE, ECKHARD. "Die Musik und die anderen Künste Musikpädagogische Diskussionsbeiträge des 19. Jahrhunderts." *Musik und Bildende Kunst*. Edited by Rudolf Dieter Kraemer. Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1990; 33–9. (*Musikpädagogische Forschung* 10).
- NUGENT, GEORGE. "Anti-Protestant music for sixteenth-century Ferrara." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 43/2 (Summer 1990): 228–91.

Music and the visual arts used as counter-reformist propaganda.

 Paris: Le Palais Royal, Musée Carnavalet, 9 mai-4 septembre, 1988. [Exhibition Catalogue] Bernard de Montgolfier, Editor. Paris: Musées de la Ville de Paris, 1988.

Contains, among other items, iconographic material relating to stage productions in the theatres located in the Palais Royal.

- Parret, Herman. "À propos d'une inversion: espace musical et temps pictural." *Analyse Musicale* 4 (June 1986): 25–31.
- PIZÀ, ANTONI. "Musical inspiration as seen through the artist's eyes." *RIdIM/RCMI Newsletter* 14/2 (Fall 1989): 5–10.
- QUADRI, FRANCO, (ed.), Luciano Damiani al teatro della Scala: bozzetti e figurini 1955–1983: ridotto dei palchi del teatro alla Scala. Mostra quinta. Milan: Edizione Amici della Scala & Mercedes Benz Italia, ca. 1990.
- RAAD, VIRGINIA. "The cathedrals of Monet and Debussy." *Clavier* 25/3 (March 1986): 11–5.
- RADICE, MARK A. "Theater architecture at the time of Purcell and its influence on his "Dramatick Operas"." *The Musical Quarterly* 74 (1990): 98–130.
- Radovanović, Vladan. *Vokovizuel*. Beograd: Nolit, 1987.

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- Reis, Joan J. "A third Gainsborough portrait of Johann Christian Bach?" *The Musical Quarterly* 74 (1990): 295–302.
- RITZEL, FRED, and JENS THIELE. "Kritik oder Blasphemie? Über die Rekonstruktion von Musikereignissen der Nazi-Zeit in R.W. Fassbinders Film "Lili Marleen (BRD 1980)"." Musik und Bildende Kunst. Edited by Rudolf Dieter Kraemer. Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1990; 162–80. (Musikpädagogische Forschung 10).
- RÖTTER, GÜNTHER. "Die Gestaltung von Schallplattencovern." Musik und Bildende Kunst. Edited

by Rudolf Dieter Kraemer. Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1990; 154–61. (*Musikpädagogische Forschung* 10).

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ROLAND-MICHEL, MARIANNE. "Costumes de ballet au temps de Rameau." *Jean-Philippe Rameau*. Paris and Geneva: Champion and Slatkine, 1986; 595–600.

An introduction to 40 watercolors of ballet costumes in the collection of the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon.

ROSELL, KAREN JOAN. Color: a credible link between the paintings of Eugène Delacroix and the music of Hector Berlioz? Diss., Ohio University. Athens, Ohio: 1986.

Both Delacroix and Berlioz employ color in delineating structures, as exemplified in the painting "Death of Sardanapalus" (Delacroix, 1827 version), and in the "Symphonie fantastique" (Berlioz, 1830). Both works successfully reconcile the opposing tendencies of Romanticism and Classicism.

- ROSENBERG, PIERRE, see GRASSELLI, MARGARET MORGAN, and PIERRE ROSENBERG
- ROTH, CLAUDIA, see MERKHOFER, WERNER, and CLAUDIA ROTH
- Różycka-Bryzek, Anna. "Realia muzyczna w bizantyńsko-ruskich malowidłw Polsce czaśow Jagiełły." Zeszyty Naukowe: Akademia Muzyczna im. Fryderyka Chopina 14 (1986): 182–5.
- SAVY, NICOLE, see MICHAUD, STÉPHANE, JEAN-YVES MOLLIER, and NICOLE SAVY
- Scheib, Christian. "Multimedia: Zwei Einzelgänger als Vorgänger und zwei Desperados als Erben. Claude Bragdon, Wassily Wereschtschagin und "Station Rose"." *Musik und Bildende Kunst*. Edited by Rudolf Dieter Kraemer. Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1990; 81–9. (*Musikpädagogische Forschung* 10).

Significance of Wereschtschagin (who in the late 19th century organized multi-media exhibitions in major European capitals) and Bragdon (who featured in the early 20th-century concerts in New York with mass choruses and lighting effects) for the contemporary multi-media arts center in Vienna "Station Rose".

Schnitzler, Günter. "Eine Analogie Kokoschkas: Altdorfers "Alexanderschlacht" und Beethovens "Grosse Fuge"." *Musik in Antike und Neuzeit.* Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1987; 129–45.

In: "Das Auge des Darius", Kokoschka offers an instructive and suggestive analogy between Albrecht Altdorfer's "Alexanderschlacht" and Beethoven's "Grosse Fuge", op. 133.

SCHRACK, GÜNTHER, see GOLDBERG, THEO, and GÜNTHER SCHRACK

- SCHUDACK, ACHIM. "Hollywood im Umbruch: Jazz im "social problem film" der frühen 50er Jahre.' Musik und Bildende Kunst. Edited by Rudolf Dieter Kraemer. Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1990; 181–96. (Musikpädagogische Forschung 10).
 - Hermeneutic and social questions raised by the breakthrough of Jazz into film music (opposite the "Romantic Hollywood symphony orchestra") in the 1950s.
- SHIGIHARA, SUSANNE. "Max Reger und die bildende Kunst." Reger-Studien 2 (1986): 135-74. Visual responses to Reger's music by Beckerath,

Ludovic Czerny, Klinger, Otto Pankok, Nölken, Max Beckmann, Robert Strübin, and Johannes Grützke.

- SØRENSEN, SOREN MØLLER. "Modernistiske Temaer: Et musikhistorisk essay i anledning af Louisianas udstilling "Wien 1900. Kunst & Design"." Dansk Musiktidsskrift 65/6 (1990): 187-91.
- SROCKE, MARTINA. "Die Entwickelung der räumlichen Darstellung in der Inszenierungsgeschichte von Wagners Tristan und Isolde." Jahrbuch für Opernforschung 3 (1990): 43-68.
- TEICHMANN, ANKE. "Klang Farbe Ausdruck: Zum synästhetischen Prinzip bei Wassili Kandinsky und Arnold Schönberg." Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 32 (1990): 204-13.
- THIELE, JENS, see RITZEL, FRED, and JENS THIELE
- VALLIER, DORA, La rencontre Kandinsky-Schönberg. Caen: Echoppe, 1986.
- VENDRIX, PHILIPPE. "Proportions harmoniques et proportions architecturales dans la théorie française du XVIIe et XVIIIe siècle." International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music 20 (1989): 3-10.
- WANGERMÉE, ROBERT. "Kandinsky et Schoenberg, Schoenberg et Kandinsky: sur quelques conjonctions peinture-musique." Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts 69/3-5 (1987): 113-37.
- WOODFIELD, IAN. "The keyboard recital in oriental diplomacy, 1520-1620." Journal of the Royal Musical Association 115/1 (1990): 33-62. Music-related images in Mughal miniatures.

B) ICONOGRAPHY

- ALLAN, JOHNNIE. Memories: a pictorial history of South Louisiana music, 1920s-1980s. Lafayette: Jedfel, 1988.
- BAILBÉ, JOSEPH-MARC. "Texte et images musicales: Berlioz, Grandville, Erik Satie." Usages de l'image au XIXe siècle. Paris: Éditions Créaphis, 1992; 223-33.

- Visual and textual correspondences in selected music, caricature and calligraphy.
- BARCHAM, WILLIAM L. "Costumes in the frescoes of Tiepolo and eighteenth-century opera." Opera & Vivaldi. Austin: University of Texas, 1984; 149-69.

Characters in frescoes by Giambattista Tiepolo at the Villa Valmarano seem to be taken from the operatic stage of the time.

- BARTHELMES, BARBARA. "Musikpädagogik und Bildende Kunst. Anmerkungen zur Funktion der Kunst in der Musikpädagogik." Musik und Bildende Kunst. Edited by Rudolf Dieter Kraemer. Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1990; 40-52. (Musikpädagogische Forschung 10).
- Includes references to theater, advertising and film. BLAŽEKOVIĆ, ZDRAVKO. "A list of dissertations and masters theses related to music and the visual arts." RIdIM/RCMI Newsletter 14/2 (Fall 1989): 11-9.
- BOHLMAN, PHILIP V. "Missionaries, magical Muses, and magnificent menageries: image and imagination in the early history of ethnomusicology." The World of Music 30/3 (1988): 5-27.
- BOWLES, EDMUND A. "A brief overview of musical ensembles with brass instruments in European festivals of state." Historic Brass Society Journal 1 (1990): 78-96.

From the late-16th to the mid-18th century.

- Musical Ensembles in Festival Books, 1500–1800: an iconographical and documentary survey. Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1989. (Studies in Music 103).
 - Reviews by Margaret Downie Banks in Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society 16 (1990): 182-5, and Elizabeth Baur in Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America 26 (1989): 98-100.
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- BUCH, DAVID J. "The coordination of text, illustration, and music in a seventeenth-century lute manuscript: "La Rhétorique des Dieux"." Imago Musicae 6 (1989): 39-81.
- CANNON, R. "Bagpipes in English works of art." Galpin Society Journal 17 (1989): 10-31.
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The carved pulpit (1330) of the prebendary refec-

tory of the cathedral does not represent, as is commonly believed, the traditional unicorn legend, but rather illustrates a song by the King of Navarre, the trouvère Thibaut IV, Count of Champagne. The motif also appears in the tympanum of the room.

CHRISTIANSEN, KEITH. "Some observations on the relationship between Caravaggio's two treatments of the "Lute-Player"." *The Burlington Magazine* 132/1042 (January 1990): 21–6.

Comparison of paintings of the "Lute Player" at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

Cole, Hugo. "Musicians at work: the musical scene." *Country Life* 182/48 (1 December 1988): 216–8.

Caricatures of musicians and music cartoons from the 15th to the 20th century.

COLOMBO, LUCIANA. Iconografia degli strumenti musicali nei monumenti artistici del Basso Monferrato. Diss., Università di Pavia a Cremona; Scuola di Paleografia e Filologia Musicale, 1986.

Crane, Frederick. "Black american music in pictures: some themes and opportunities." *National Conference on Black Music Research*. Chicago: Black Music Research Center, 1986; 27–47.

An iconographical study of black music-making in 19th-century America, describing both the involvement of African-American musicians in plantation life in the South, and their life in the North, as portrayed in various paintings.

Danseurs et ballets de l'Opéra de Paris: exposition au Musée de l'Histoire de France, Paris, juin-octobre 1988. [Exhibition Catalogue]. Edited by Jean-Daniel Pariset and Martine Kahane. Paris: Archives Nationales; Bibliothèque Nationale, 1988.

Exhibition covering 4 periods from 1661 to the present, divided into the sections: (1) Statutes and Regulations; (2) Dance; (3) Instruction; (4) Repertoire.

DAVIDSON, CLIFFORD. *Illustrations of the Stage and Acting in England to 1850*. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991. (*Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series* 16).

Includes two chapters concerning music: "Fools and other Entertainers", and "Minstrels."

DEBRABANDÈRE-DESCAMPS, BÉATRICE, see FORNERIS, JEAN, and BÉATRICE DEBRABANDÈRE-DESCAMPS

DIETRICH, EVA. "Ikonographische Darstellungen der Lyra als Sternbild in mittelalterlichen österreichischen Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek zu Wien." Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 38 (1986): 7–12.

ELLINGSON, TER. "Nãsa:dya: Newar, god of music — a photo essay." Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology 8 (1990): 221–72. Considers images of Nāsa:dya:, god of music and dance in Nepal.

FERRARIS, GIORGIO. "I liuti di Evaristo Baschenis." Il Fronimo 14/57 (October 1986): 7–21.

FLOREA, ANCA. "Music in Carol Popp de Szathmary's paintings." *Imago Musicae* 6 (1989): 109–41.

Szathmary was a 19th-century *literatus* of many talents with an interest in Rumanian folk music.

Among his sketches are also portraits of Liszt.

FORNERIS, JEAN, and BÉATRICE DEBRABANDÈRE-DESCAMPS (eds.). La Musique et la Peinture 1600–1900: trois siècles d'iconographie musicale, oeuvres des collections publiques françaises. [Exhibition Catalogue]. Nice: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1991.

Exhibition and catalogue are divided into 4 sections: myth, symbols, concerts and musicians, and instruments of antiquity.

GALIN, JASNA. "Antívcki ikonografski izvori za glazbala kao indikator etnoorganolòvskog problema kontinuiteta i diskontinuiteta tradicije." *Zbornik radova 32 kongresa SUFJ*. Sombor: Udrùvzenje Folklorista Vojvodine, 1985.

Iconographical sources for musical instruments in the South-Slav lands.

GÉTREAU, FLORENCE. "Watteau und die Musik." Watteau (1684–1721). Edited by Margaret Morgan Grasselli Pierre Rosenberg, and Nicole Parmantier. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1984; 533–52.

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GODT, IRVING. "Ercole's Angel Concert." *Journal of Musicology* 7/3 (Summer 1989): 327-42.

Grasselli, Margaret Morgan, see Moureau, François, and Margaret Morgan Grasselli

Grasselli, Margaret Morgan, and Pierre Rosenberg. (eds., with support form Nicole Parmantier), *Watteau: 1684–1721*. [Exhibition Catalogue]. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1984.

GRUHN, WILFRIED. "Begegnung der Künste: Kandinsky und Schönberg. Von der Hinfälligkeit des Schönen und der Harmonie der Dissonanz." *Musik und Bildende Kunst*. Edited by Rudolf Dieter Kraemer. Essen: Die Blaue Eule, 1990; 61–80. (*Musikpädagogische Forschung* 10).

HAILL, CATHERINE. Victorian Illustrated Music Sheets. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1981.

- Helenius-Öberg, Eva. "Davids triumf: kring bildförlagors beroende av texttraditioner." *Iconographisk Post* 3 (1990): 1–23.
- ———. "De glädja sig vid pipors ljud: om Job såsom yrkesmusikernas skyddspatron." *Iconographisk Post* 4 (1989): 1–15.

On medieval depictions of Job as the patron of professional musicians.

- HOPP, GISELA. "Une oeuvre tardive de Camille Corot: "Le moine au violoncelle"." *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 132/1454 (March 1990): 129–40.
- Jacquemin, Anne, Georges Rougement, and Annia Belis. "Le sanctuaire et la cité." *Les Dossiers d'Archéologie* 151 (July–August 1990): 20–5.

Different aspects of the site at Delphi are covered, including the Delphic hymns.

- JULLIAN, MARTINE. "La peinture de manuscrit: une contribution à la connaissance de la musique sous le duc Jean de Berry." Musique Ancienne 22 (1987): pp. 10–27.
- Kos, Koraljka. "Istok i zapad u vojnoj glazbi na turskoj granici (East and West in military music at the Turkish border)." *Arti Musices* 21/2 (1990): 245–71.

A Croatian translation of an article which first appeared in *Imago Musicae* 5 (1988).

Las Edades del Hombre: La Musica en la Iglesia de Castilla y León. [Exhibition Catalogue]. León: Andrés Martin, 1991.

Includes reproductions of musical manuscripts from the 11th to the 16th century, Books of Hours, painting and sculpture, etc.

LEYDI, ROBERTO. Musicians and Local Photographers in Crete. Bologna: Università degli Studi; Dipartimento di Musica e Spettacolo, 1988.

Collection of photographs of musicians in Western Crete (Chania and Rethymnon).

MACKINTOSH, IAIN. "The downfall of Shakespeare on a modern stage"." Early Music 18/1 (February 1990): 91–4.

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- BLAŽEKOVIĆ, ZDRAVKO. "A list of dissertations and masters theses related to music and the visual arts." *RIdIM/RCMI Newsletter* 14/2 (Fall 1989): 11–9.
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D) ORGANOLOGY

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and a bibliography." American Organist 24/9 (September 1990): 56–69.

ZINT, MARKUS. "Schätze im Rücken: Musikinstrumente in den Intarsien von Monte Oliveto Maggiore." *Concerto* 5/1 (1987); 9–13.

Depictions of instruments on the choir stalls of the abbey church of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, near Siena; the marquetry is by Fra Giovanni da Verona (early 16th century).

E) DEPICTIONS ON MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

ADKINS, CECIL. "Oboes beyond compare: the instruments of Hendrik and Fredrik Richters." *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 16 (1990): 43–117.

Describes the engravings on keys and carvings of the Richters-made intruments.

BARRY, WILSON. "The Lodewyk Theewes Claviorganum and its position in the history of keyboard instruments." *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 16 (1990): 5–41.

A one-manual claviorganum from 1579, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

BELTS, JIŘÍ, Výtvarný vývoj arhanních skvříní v Čehách. Praha: SU PPOP, 1988.

Traces the development of sculptural features of Bohemian organ cases from the 16th century, in relation to the history of the visual arts.

LIBIN, LAURENCE. American musical instruments in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Norton, 1985.

————. "A growing collection of old instruments." *Guitar Review* 79 (Fall 1989): 18–21.

Describes guitars and other fretted instruments in the Metropolitan Musem of Art, New York.

McCann, John. "Snakes, trees and flames: a discussion of Venetian curved cornet decorations." *Historic Brass Society Journal* 1 (1989): 101–7.

Tomší, Lubomír, "Varhanářská symbolika na sfragistickém materiálu." *Hudební Nástroje* 25/3 (June 1988): 100–2.

Describes seals used by organ builders and bell founders dating from 1614–1851. The most common symbols used by the latter were a bell and cannon, while the organ builders were represented by Saint Cecilia playing an organ.



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